Routes to tour in Germany

The German Fairy Tale Route

German roads will get you there – even if nostalgia is your destination. On your next visit why not call to mind those halcyon childhood days when your mother or father told you fairy tales, maybe German ones? The surroundings in which our great fairy tale writers lived or the scenes in which the tales themselves were set will make their meaning even clearer and show you that many are based on a fairly realistic background.

On a tour from Hanau, near Frankfurt, where the Brothers Grimm were born, to Bremen, where the Town Band (consisting of a donkey, a dog, a cat and a cockerel) played such dreadful music that it put even robbers to flight, you will enjoy the varying kinds of countryside. And do stop over at Bodenwerder. That was where Baron Münchhausen told his breathtaking lies.

Visit Germany and let the Fairy Tale Route be your guide.

Osterholz-Scharmbeck
Worpswede
Bremen
Nienburg
Minden
Bad Oeynhausen
Bückeburg
Hameln
Bad Pyrmont
Bodenwerder
Neuhaus
Bad Karlshafen
Göttingen
Hann.-Münden
Kassel
Fritzlar
Marburg
Alsfeld
Lauterbach
Steinau
Schlüchtern
Gelnhausen
Hanau

1 Bremen
2 Bodenwerder, home of Münchhausen
3 Hanau, birthplace of the Brothers Grimm
4 Alsfeld









The German Tribune

Hamburg, 14 May 1989
Twenty-eighth year - No. 1369 - By air

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A need to look at realities of a confused situation

Hannoversche Allgemeine

Confusion is complete, and no-one seems to know for sure any more what the unfortunate short-range nuclear missiles dispute is about. Just what *is* at stake?

Is it true that the Federal Republic of Germany has manoeuvred itself out on to a limb within the Western alliance?

Or is Bonn, with its views on the subject, in the best company in Nato, as German Federal President Richard von Weizsäcker claimed in a surprise comment with which he intervened in the public debate?

Is it an issue on which there will be a major clash between America and Europe? Will Nato itself come to grief on the short-range missile dispute?

One question after another arises in this connection, and those here outlined by no means exhaust the catalogue.

The Bonn Opposition — Social Democrats and Greens — paints an alarming picture of the missile debate deciding whether East-West disarmament will make further progress or prove a failure. Britain's Margaret Thatcher and the Bush administration feel the boot is on the other foot.

In not playing ball on this issue Bonn would, in their view, jeopardise European security, with unforeseeable consequences for the future should Mr Gorbachov fail and the Soviet Union revert to policies of old.

In an attempt to bring order into this chaos let me stick my neck out and forecast that this is yet another dispute which Nato will survive.

The 40-year history of the Western alliance has been a constant succession of internal disputes. Yet Nato members have invariably resolved their differences and eventually arrived at a more or less common viewpoint.

Why should the outcome be any different this time? In reality, the differences are nowhere near as substantial as they might seem to be, given the sheer volume of the dispute.

There are no irreconcilable differences between those who advocate a swift decision on the introduction of a new short-range missile ("modernisation") and those who would prefer to postpone the decision for a few years.

There are no irreconcilable differences between those who advocate including this missile category as soon as possible in East-West disarmament talks and those who would prefer to see a substantial reduction in Soviet conventional forces in Europe prior to talks on any further reduction in nuclear weapons.

The only irreconcilable difference is between those who want to see Europe totally freed of nuclear weapons in all categories and those who feel a minimum of nuclear weapons must be retained so as to continue to rule out a war in Europe.

The German Greens want to abolish nuclear weapons entirely, and the Social Democrats seem gradually to be approaching this point of view.

If there can be any question of isolation within the West, then the threat seems likeliest to be posed by these two parties.

Neither the ruling French Socialists nor, since their last electoral defeat, the

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IN THIS ISSUE



British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher (left), and Bonn Chancellor Helmut Kohl disagreed on missiles at their meeting in Germany this month. (Photo: dpa)

Compromise on Nato missiles remains remote prospect

Opinions seem to have hardened in the debate over short-range missiles in Nato. Predictably, the talks between German Chancellor Helmut Kohl and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher yielded no prospect of a compromise.

American and, in particular, British opposition to the German "ambush" of valid Nato doctrine, especially opposition to US-Soviet negotiations on scrapping shorter-range nuclear missiles as proposed by Bonn, is far too deeply rooted for compromise.

The new, urgent proposals on disarmament and arms control at best appear plausible from a national viewpoint.

The indifference demonstrated by *France, a nuclear power,* speaks volumes on the subject.

They have put Washington and Whitehall on the spot, with Mrs Thatcher worried lest German pressure on Nato might lead to a risk of American troop cuts in Europe.

As she, like others, is well aware that the Bonn government is hard pressed by declining electoral support and surprisingly populistic in its attempts to deal with the situation, she is bound to feel that Bonn's views on missile reduction are extremely suspect.

Chancellor Kohl may have repeated that there can be no question of Nato facing a third zero solution, but he knows as well as Mrs Thatcher or President Bush that this equation does not take Mr Gorbachov into account.

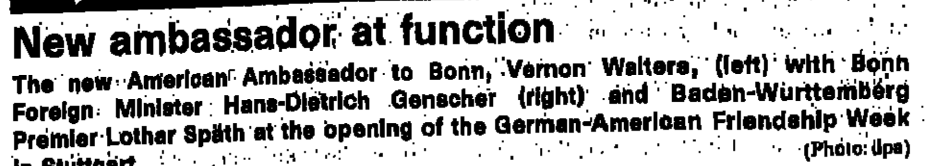
The Soviet leader's determination to scrap short-range missiles entirely in Europe is well known, and German determination to withstand such blandishments, especially as votes are at stake, is extremely doubtful.

Yet a viable compromise might be reached if only Nato were to agree to insist on retaining a reduced number of short-range missiles on the basis of a common ceiling.

This presupposes giving the Vienna talks on conventional arms reduction the clear priority Bonn would like to see them enjoy.

What Germany wants has the logic of the present promise of a reduction in East-West tension on its side, but the alacrity with which Bonn has sought to secure the support of non-nuclear Nato partners disregards the fact that the Federal Republic has a different part to play in Nato defence strategy than the rolo envisaged for Belgium, Denmark or Norway. No matter how frank and outspoken Bonn's views on the subject may

Continued on page 2



New ambassador at function

The new American Ambassador to Bonn, Vernon Walters, (left) with Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher (right) and Baden-Württemberg Premier Lothar Späth at the opening of the German-American Friendship Week in Stuttgart. (Photo: dpa)

■ INTERNATIONAL

Emergence of India as military power the X factor in shifting Asian sands

India is shortly to test its first medium-range missile, the Agni, which means "fire" (not exactly a promising name).

The launching is intended to testify to the imperial ambitions of a gigantic country arming to the teeth.

For a moment at least our attention, usually concentrated on Europe, will be drawn to a part of the world that is in the throes of revolutionary change.

Asia, as *The Economist*, London, recently noted, is the continent which is changing fastest. That is certainly true in the economic sector.

An amorphous region with a population of three billion, it is not just a collection of the world's have-nots.

In the Far East and the Pacific rim it also boasts a textbook example of burgeoning economic power that is expected to account for half the world's GNP by the end of the century.

Politically too an amazing number of realignments that will reshape the strategic map of the world are under way in Asia.

Historic mortgages are being paid off, tried and trusted special relationships are suddenly losing in importance, new alliance options are coming to the fore and tentative flirts are bridging ideological divides.

"The borderlines between friend and foe are no longer as clearly apparent as they once were," says Premier Choonhavan of Thailand.

Foreign Minister Wong Kan Seng of Singapore already sees "the emergence of a genuine multipolarity leading to new patterns of conflict and cooperation in the region."

That may sound more worried than hopeful, yet the signs seem to point toward less confrontation and more cooperation.

One tendency toward multipolarity — in ties between China and India, Asia's most populous states and rivals, — could hardly take shape without detente between the superpowers.

Until recently several coalitions of interest faced each other most firmly in Asia. Close ties with the Soviet Union, a land power in Asia as well as Europe, have always been a mainstay of Indian foreign policy.

Soviet arms deliveries and political backing showed Moscow to be a reliable



friend in India's clashes with Pakistan over Kashmir, in occupying Goa and in the third Indo-Pak war, which led at the end of 1971 to the emergence of Bangladesh.

Shortly beforehand Indira Gandhi had signed a friendship pact with Moscow. Mrs Gandhi, Nehru's daughter, saw this pact as an indispensable counterweight to a three-cornered "alliance" between America, China and Pakistan.

India felt obliged to come to terms with Moscow not only for fear of encirclement but also because it was worried that President Nixon's emphasis on Sino-American rapprochement and a realignment of alliances might plunge the superpowers into another cold war.

Besides, Soviet global strategy, on the outlook for fresh strategic ground in Asia since the break with China, was well matched with India's hegemonial claims.

Both Moscow and New Delhi were keen to keep Chinese and US influence at bay in South Asia.

The fall from grace of Soviet intervention in Afghanistan and the occupation of Cambodia by Vietnam, a Soviet client state, began to upset the balance of Indo-Soviet harmony.

Delhi noted with dismay that other powers had begun to establish positions in its vicinity that limited India's foreign policy leeway.

Then Mr Gorbachov set foot on the world's stage and, as a pragmatic actor, began to rearrange the Asian stage setting.

The Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan and Vietnam's stated intention, under Soviet pressure, to pull out of Cambodia by the end of September are the most telling features of a change of course aimed at one main target: coming to terms with the yellow dragon.

The Soviet leader's visit to Peking, the normalisation of Party and state ties between the two communist giants, is without doubt the year's most important event in Asia.

Yet what consequences follow from this Sino-Soviet arrangement for the other power groupings?

The Vietnamese withdrawal from Cambodia, about the future political shape of which clarity has yet to be established, has deprived Asean of the threat that linked the six non-Communist states in South-East Asia.

Other interests and conflicts of interest may now come more to the fore in this part of the world.

A bankrupt Vietnam is trying to gradually loosen its ties with the Soviet Union, to establish stronger links with the international community and with Western technology and, above all, to come to terms with Washington once more.

A number of Asean member-countries, especially Thailand, are hopeful of a golden era of economic reconstruction in Indo-China.

Other Asian "little tigers" have visions of big business with the Soviet Union now Moscow is following in US and Japanese footsteps in making its presence felt in the region and is holding forth prospect of investment in the development of Siberia.

As a sign of old enmities being put to rest, even Indonesia shows signs of seeking reconciliation with China 22 years after breaking off diplomatic ties with Peking — even though Jakarta still has security misgivings about the "silk-clad Chinese dragon."

That is understandable enough, as no one knows for sure how the turbulent reform in China will end.

The recent clash over the Spratly Islands in the South China Sea showed Peking still has expansionist ambitions.

India, the "big tiger," is also busy talking terms with China after decades of bitter hostility toward Peking.

The change in Mr Gorbachov's Asia policy forced Rajiv Gandhi to knock on Peking's door too, although antagonism toward China seems likely to remain a cornerstone of Indian foreign policy.

The heirs of Mahatma Gandhi, apostle of non-violence, may soon feel obliged to make overt use of the nuclear option with which New Delhi has officially dispensed since its 1974 nuclear test.

The Agni, with a range of 2,400km (1,600 miles), would be a suitable indigenous missile carrier.

In 10 years' time India's population will exceed one billion and a sixth of the world's population will be Indian.

The International Institute for Strategic Studies, London, already feels India's 1.3-million-strong armed forces are the most powerful in Asia.

That may be a slight exaggeration, but India has undoubtedly long been the only counterweight to China worth mentioning.

It is recognised by both superpowers as a regional power in South Asia. Its smaller neighbours who, like Nepal, are given rough treatment at times are showing signs of growing dissatisfaction *with this Indian* predominance.

Olaf Ihlau

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 30 April 1989)

Continued from page 1

be, including the strangely emotional rhetoric of Herr Genscher, it will fail to explain why Germany suddenly feels threatened by a Nato strategy that has brought it security and peace for over 40 years.

Agreement can be reached on formulas and timetables for modernisation in time for the Nato summit, but the German demand for missile disarmament negotiations must not run the risk of destabilising Nato. That would be an absurd alternative, the road to agreement on an alliance concept for the 1990s not being a one-way street.

Germany is certainly running an intolerable risk of being caught without a proverbial leg to stand on by insisting on heed being paid to its "particularly endangered" central location in Europe.

A lesson or two can be learnt from German history in this respect.

Friedhelm Kemna

(General-Anzeiger, Bonn, 1 May 1989)

Realities

Continued from page 1

British Labour Party favour total denuclearisation along these lines.

There are good reasons why not. One, naturally, is that Britain and France have nuclear weapons of their own and that a majority of British and French voters are opposed to nuclear disarmament, the British and French nuclear deterrents being a kind of great power status symbol.

Yet almost all Germany's other Nato partners seem to realise that the existence of nuclear weapons has made a major contribution toward the state of peace that has reigned in Europe since 1945.

Not even the largest bomber aircraft and field artillery and the most up-to-date battle tanks have such a deterrent effect as the smallest nuclear weapons.

There are sound reasons for assuming that the risk of war in Europe will continue to be slight in the years ahead, but nothing is so incalculable as the political future.

Retaining a minimum of nuclear deterrence as an insurance policy against unpredictable vagaries of politics would certainly seem to make sense, as German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher would not for one moment dispute — even though some Americans, Britons and French might suspect him of doing so.

The Bonn coalition is committed to the continued need for land-based, sea- and airborne nuclear weapons in Europe. That is what matters, not how many of which category of nuclear weapons are deployed.

Views may differ on everything else, and a wide range of compromises is conceivable. "Modernisation" of the ageing Lance missiles is by no means the only option — and probably not even the best.

Baden-Württemberg Premier Lothar Späth may well have been ahead of the field again in saying that a replacement for the Lance missile might, in certain circumstances, be dispensed with. It was, perhaps, a premature comment that will cause further confusion, but it is not entirely inappropriate.

If the Soviet Union were to go ahead with a genuine, drastic troop reduction the West might feel disposed to honour this move. Herr Späth is thus offering Moscow an incentive, which is a far cry from unilateral disarmament.

Arriving at a compromise on when short-range missiles are to be included in disarmament talks cannot be unduly difficult.

Logic would seem to be on the side of the Anglo-American viewpoint, which is that these weapons were introduced in Europe by the West to offset the conventional superiority of the Soviet Union and its allies.

This superiority must thus be eliminated before the West can afford to dispense with any more nuclear weapons.

The mere announcement by Mr Gorbachov that Soviet tanks and troops are to be withdrawn is not enough.

Some Western allies are understandably irritated by the public debate in the Federal Republic and have their doubts about the consistency and reliability of German policy. It is, after all, true enough that many Germans are once more following their inclination to pour the baby out with the bathwater.

No sooner has Mr Gorbachov announced that the Soviet Union has broken with its dark and gloomy past than they promptly believe peace everlasting has dawned.

They feel caution can be cast to the winds, the Americans are no longer needed as a counterweight and Germany can afford to go it alone.

It is always unwise to confuse wishful thinking and reality. Mr Gorbachov doesn't. All his moves are aimed at restoring the Soviet Union's strength and power.

Russia remains a powerful neighbour even though it may now seem less sinister. This is a point we must soberly bear in mind and continued to be guided by as a reality.

Wolfgang Wagner

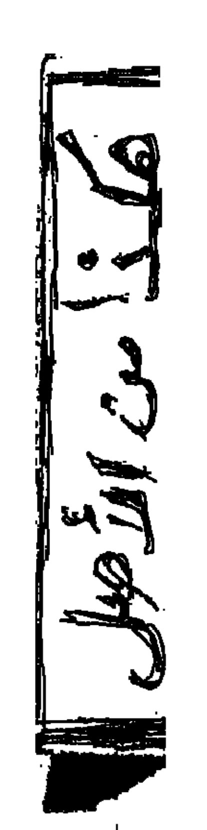
(Hannoversche Allgemeine, [illegible] 1989)

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■ HOME AFFAIRS

Kohl attempts to regain the initiative

Brilliance was never one of Helmut Kohl's outstanding qualities. Solidity has been.

It is a useful quality when things start going wrong, as they have been.

The problems can no longer be dismissed as merely the result of a poor sales strategy for basically good policies.

As shown by the discussions on — to mention just a few catchphrases — the health reform, the withholding tax and the extension of military service, the cracks run deep.

Kohl has his back to the wall. His cabinet reshuffle was an attempt to regain the offensive. It was not a great success.

Kohl's policy statement to the Bundestag lacked the embarrassing complacency and arrogance which have often marked previous speeches.

He tried to alter the course and put the rolling government tanker back on an even keel.

It remains to be seen whether the new course will take him into less stormy waters.

He certainly has not lost any more ground. Could more than this be expected?

The real moment of truth for Helmut Kohl will come on 18 June, when the results of the municipal polls in Rhineland-Palatinate and the Saarland are presented together with the results of the elections to the European Parliament.

Up until then very few of the many programmatic announcements Kohl made during his policy statement, all of them by the way nothing new, will be realisable.

All that can be done up until then, therefore, is to rid the Chancellor's public image of any skidmarks.

Can this be done, and, more important still: is this enough?

Kohl is trying to find his way back to political success, and does not shy away from detours and backtracking.

The Opposition should be doing more to make the most of its chances.

Yet despite the spirited and self-confident speech in the Bundestag by Opposition leader Hans-Jochen Vogel (SPD) his party is not the obvious choice as an appealing alternative.

Vogel's reply to the policy statement by Chancellor Kohl was too slogan-laden and superficial. A missed opportunity.

With an eye to the general election in 1990 and its possible consequences this fact is unlikely to increase any optimism that a change of government would automatically lead to better policies. Simply avoiding mistakes is not enough.

Chancellor Kohl's policy statement and the ensuing Bundestag debate attracted more international attention than usual.

Interest did not centre on Chancellor Kohl's domestic policy problems, but on the current foreign-, or to be more precise alliance-policy problems caused by the dispute over the modernisation of short-range nuclear missiles.

Kohl stuck to his demands for a postponement of the decision on modernisation until 1991/92 (which would mean deployment in 1995/96) and a prompt commencement of negotiations between Nato and the Soviets on a reduction of short-range nuclear systems.

The day before his Bundestag speech the Chancellor received some unexpected backing for his stance from Bonn President Richard von Weizsäcker.

During a visit to Denmark von Weizsäcker officially "took sides" in the ongoing alliance dispute, an unusual approach for an otherwise politically "neutral" head of state. The SPD also supports the Chancellor on this point.

Yet is this a stance which, following a realistic appraisal, will be able to endure and which also makes sense?

Anyone who studies the facts more closely — something which was only done superficially and incompletely in the Bundestag following the policy statement — cannot answer this question in the affirmative with a clear conscience.

The facts is: Even under Gorbachov there has been no discernible reduction in Soviet arms production.

Every day it produces six tanks and one combat aircraft. The conventional superiority of the East Bloc is still menacing.

Whereas Nato has already unilaterally reduced its stock of warheads from 7,000 to 4,600 during recent years the Soviets have modernised their arsenal of short-range weapons and moved up to 1,650 systems (compared with 88 Lance launchers with 700 warheads).

What is more, it is still not clear whether Gorbachov's political course will be successful.

Apart from the reduction of medium-range missiles all the West can count on are promises and wishful thinking.

Disarmament and security policies, however, can only be pursued on the basis of facts.

This presupposes the observation of logical timetables, both in terms of content and pace.

Accordingly, negotiations on short-range nuclear weapons could only then be meaningfully conducted with any prospects of success if a conventional balance and thus conventional non-aggression capacity on both sides.

Of course, Helmut Kohl is well aware of this fact.

His insistence on "prompt" negotiations, however, is an attempt to postpone the issue until after the general election.

During the Bundestag debate Alfred Dregger emphasised in a different context that only a government which has the strength to correct its own errors is fit to govern.

One could add: a government is and can only remain fit for government if it refrains from using tactics to such an exaggerated extent that it manoeuvres itself into a blind alley.

Walter W. Weber

(Saarbrücker Zeitung, 28 April 1989)

Red-ribboned Paulinchen stands up for the CDU

The CDU is using political rhyme and fairy-tale analogies in the European election campaign. Polling is on 18 June.

On one of its posters shows Paulinchen, a character from Heinrich Hoffmann's collection of children's stories, *Der Struwwelpeter*.

Behind her, everything is in flames. She has a look of horror on her face.

In her green dress with its red belt, her red shoes and the red ribbons in her hair, Paulinchen stands as a warning: her hands are raised to ward off the "Red-Green" (SPD-Green) danger.

Paulinchen also is also warning against right-wing radicals who are depicted as playing with fire. She cries: *Mit seiner Stimme spielt man nicht!* (Don't play with his vote).

The alternative at the bottom right-hand corner of the poster is: "Christian Democrats Build Europe — CDU."

With the help of this kind of humour with a serious background the CDU's business manager, Heiner Geissler, will be campaigning for the CDU using posters, brochures, radio and TV spots between the beginning of May and polling day.

The first verse of a planned rhyming series is *Radikale und SPD, Zukunft und Wohlstand ade* (Radicals and SPD, Farewell to our future and our prosperity). For the less poetically inclined a more readily comprehensible message is stuck over the poster: "Wer rechtsradikal wählt, wird links regiert (Anyone who votes for right-wing radicals will be governed by the Left).

Geissler explained that political rhymes have a long history. He pointed out that King Frederick I of Prussia, for example, once ordered rhymes to be written to pacify subjects who wanted more money.

According to Geissler the CDU "only" has DM25m at its disposal for the European elections.

The local government elections in Rhineland-Palatinate and Saarland on the same day will be test elections for the popularity of the Bonn government.

The CDU hopes that it will be able to capitalise on Chancellor Kohl's experience as *the* European politician with the greatest competence and degree of acceptance.

RHEINISCHE POST

The CDU views the election to the European Parliament as a decision on the future of the Federal Republic of Germany.

Without the European Community and the European internal market both the future and prosperity of the Federal Republic of Germany would be gambled away.

Another rhyming slogan coined to describe the Red-Green experiments (joint government between SDP and Greens) in Frankfurt and Berlin is *Kartoffelchips statt Megachips* (Potato crisps instead of mega-chips).

Although Geissler admitted that this is exaggerated one thing is certain: the Greens and the Republicans are against Europe, reject Nato and aim to mobilise forces against a future-orientated society — either by turning to the anarcho-socialism of the 19th century or to the vulgar nationalism of the 20th century.

The CDU wants to show how the SPD joins forces with the Greens and that the CDU fights against the right-wing radicals in the Republican Party. The party does not want to "sell its soul just to win votes."

The SPD, on the other hand, is gaining support thanks to "those who, although not unconstitutional, operate on the borderline of constitutionality."

The CDU hopes that voters will heed the warnings of the clever election campaign experts and not play with fire like poor Paulinchen on the poster.

The message is conveyed to young voters in more progressive-style CDU TV spots.

Bomb disposal experts dripping with sweat can be seen defusing a bomb just in the nick of time.

First of all they cut the red, then the green, and then at the very last moment the brown wire.

So it looks as good old Paulinchen will not be given a red-Green flambé, but will ride on the bull of Europe through the political centre. Provided Geissler's concept works out.

Heinz Schweden

(Rheinische Post, Düsseldorf, 29 April 1989)

Geissler shows he has the staying power

CDU business manager Heiner Geissler has been a controversial figure in German politics for many years. He enjoys it.

Not only the CSU would like him replaced. Some members of his own party feel he is too pugnacious and awkward.

Geissler is one of the few independent thinkers in the party leadership. His predecessor as business manager, Kurt Biedenkopf, was no less independent and single-minded.

Biedenkopf, however, threw in the towel after the first and only election.

Geissler, on the other hand, tells anyone who wants to hear that he intends staying around for a long time. The decision is not his alone, of course.

The national chairman of the CDU must nominate him at the next party congress in September if he intends keeping him.

Following Geissler's decision not to become a member in Helmut Kohl's reshuffled cabinet there are doubts about his chances. Geissler knew that Kohl wanted to remove him from the post of business party manager by making him a cabinet member, but he was unwilling to do him that favour.

He apparently feels that his job is less threatened than many political observers believe.

The chairman of the North Rhine-Westphalian CDU group, Norbert Blüm, has openly expressed his support for a further term as business manager for Heiner Geissler.

This support is highly significant, since the Rhineland and Westphalia CDU groups together represent the most powerful groups of delegates at the party congress.

The fact that the FDP chairman Count Otto Lambsdorff declared at almost the same time that he had little understanding for Geissler's decision not to join the cabinet this is almost a point in Geissler's favour.

Kohl should, if he still toys with the idea of a change in the party manager post, stand up more clearly for Geissler.

A party chairman should not allow his coalition partner to dictate which internal party decisions he should take and which he should avoid.

There will only be clarity about Geissler's renewed candidature if Kohl officially recommends his re-election in his capacity as chairman of the national CDU.

The Chancellor, however, remains silent, which could mean anything but which is probably intended to give the impression that it's still an open race.

Karl Hugo Pruys

(Bremer Nachrichten, 27 April 1989)

■ PEOPLE IN POLITICS

Image-maker Klein has a lot of talking ahead

Chancellor Kohl's new-look Bonn Cabinet features a formidable line-up of Bavarians. Twelve, or one in four, of the 49 (Bavarian) CSU members of the Bundestag are now either Cabinet Ministers or parliamentary state secretaries.

No wonder CSU leader (and Bonn Finance Minister) Theo Waigel's manpower reserves are starting to run low.

The number of government jobs in Bonn on which the CSU has insisted in return for its continued loyalty to Chancellor Kohl calls to mind the late Franz Josef Strauss's war cry "Germany needs Bavaria" (and Bavarians), arguably for Kohl's last stand, should the need arise!

The Chancellor may bank his hopes mainly on Herr Waigel as Finance Minister (the sixth CSU portfolio); journalists in Bonn are more likely to welcome the transfer of Hans ("Johnny") Klein from Development Aid to chief government spokesman.

In comparison with the modest grades the Chancellor has been awarded for his Cabinet reshuffle as a whole the response to Herr Klein's new job was so overwhelmingly positive that he was almost inundated in praise before even taking over as Minister of State at the Press and Information Office.

At the Development Aid Ministry, which he had headed since March 1987, he was at best an also-ran, with a reputation for being a keen CSU man but hardly a political heavyweight.

He always cuts a cheerful figure with his designer bow tie, his distinctive beard, his reputation for kissing the ladies' hands and as a right-wing heckler in the Bundestag.

Why, then, were the media so looking forward to him as chief government spokesman? His predecessor's performance was part of the answer.

No-one who worked in Bonn during Friedhelm Ost's four-year term as chief government spokesman will forget in a hurry how a man who was so close to the horse's mouth, as it were, managed to say so little with such poor judgement.

Johnny Klein is widely hoped, as Helmut Kohl's fourth government spokesman in six and a half years, to do a better job of outlining and interpreting the Bonn government's policy.

Everyone who remembers his performance as interpreter of what Franz Josef Strauss had in mind as Bavarian Premier and CSU leader will agree that Herr Klein should do his new job well. In the 1970s he contributed substantially toward putting across to the press, especially the non-Bavarian press, the finer points of CSU policy.

In the days before and after the notorious 1976 Bad Kreuth decision by the CSU to go it alone if need be (after 30 years in joint national harness with the CDU), and while Herr Strauss ran as CDU/CSU candidate for Chancellor in 1979-80, Herr Klein plied journalists who expected the CSU to behave seriously as a political party with closer insights into party policy.

His aim was "to say everything, including the truth." The CSU had no objections. It was always appreciative of the public interest he stimulated on its behalf.

He has been an image-maker by trade ever since serving Ludwig Erhard in 1965 as press liaison officer in his last general election campaign.

He really came into his own as chief press officer at the 1972 Munich Olympics, putting Munich on the map all over the world.

He even succeeded in presenting his fellow-countrymen as charming, entertaining people.

But until Palestinian terrorists wrought havoc at the Games everyone else at Munich was first-rate too.

Hans-Jochen Vogel was the best mayor an Olympic city had ever had. Joachim Fuchsberger was the finest stadium announcer the world had ever heard. The athletes were the most magnificent, the hostesses the most beautiful, the weather the most glorious. Everything was just right, and so was Johnny Klein.

But what is right today? Herr Klein will have his work cut out if he is to make people forget all the absurdities of Chancellor Kohl's decisions.

Government spokesmen used to be chosen from the ranks of the civil or diplomatic service. Most had little difficulty in seeing themselves as self-effacing servants of their respective "master."

Johnny Klein, in contrast, is no longer a journalist by profession. He was appointed in his capacity as a full-time politician. He is not a member of the Chancellor's party, the CDU, and he represents a Munich constituency he must nurse.

What is more, he is running for mayor of Munich, which goes to the polls next March.

In order to ensure that Herr Klein was not put to disadvantage or degraded while running for *Oberbürgermeister* of the Bavarian capital, Chancellor Kohl allowed him to retain Ministerial rank.

Yet he will be handicapped by his dual role as chief government spokesman in Bonn and election campaigner in Munich. Besides, he must take care not to be pigeonholed as "propaganda minister."

Public opinion is more allergic to errors of judgement today than it was in the early days of the Federal Republic. Konrad Adenauer was able to say unpunished of his first government spokesman, Heinrich Böx: "What I really wanted was a democratic Goebbels, but there seems to be no such thing."

At first glance Chancellor Kohl's choice of Johnny Klein seems to be a shrewd one. But will the CSU, as a junior member of the Bonn coalition, be able to live in the long term with the nerve-racking idea of one of their own number "selling" the performance of a shaky CDU Chancellor and bailing Herr Kohl out when the going gets rough?

How long, for that matter, will the CDU be prepared to accept a CSU takeover of the Federal Press and Information Office?

Failing a further reshuffle, the CDU will no longer be represented at the helm of the Press and Information Office, where the spokesman's first deputy is a Free Democrat and his second deputy a fellow-member of Herr Klein's CSU.

An old friend who would hear nothing of such doubts dismissed them with the comment: "Johnny Klein is the right choice."

But that is is no longer enough. He must now prove a jack of all trades. What other explanation is there for the vague hope that he will turn the tide and see the Chancellor safely through the 18 June elections to the European Parliament and into 1990, a general election year, with every prospect of retaining power?

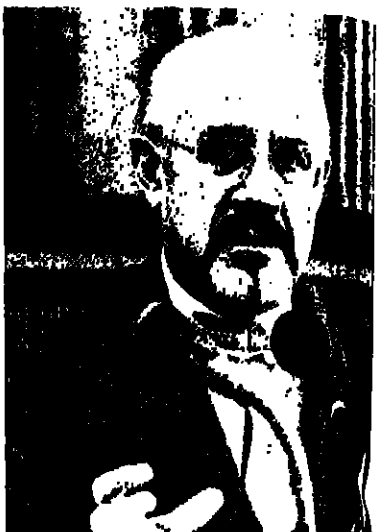
Herr Klein is not all that impressed by this prospect but keenly aware of the importance that is suddenly attached to him. "Nothing," he says, "would be worse for me than to see the laurels that are now being wreathed for me wilt in a few weeks' time."

He has no trouble with journalists. He can handle them. His problem is the Chancellor.

In a relationship with the press that was detached from the outset Helmut Kohl has long felt overwhelmed by a sense of mistrust.

He has never succeeded in arriving at a satisfactory style of working or satisfactory speaking terms with the media.

"An exemplary feature of his chilly and reserved attitude toward the media," wrote Kurt Becker (who himself had



Off the blocks at the Olympics... Johnny Klein. (Photo: Sepp Spiegl)

served Helmut Schmidt as chief government spokesman for 14 months) on Friedhelm Ost's appointment, "is the drastic decline that has occurred in the importance of the *government* spokesman under Chancellor Kohl.

"Yet in Bonn the chief government spokesman has traditionally been a man who enjoyed a special relationship of trust and confidence with the Chancellor."

Friedhelm Ost, Herr Klein's predecessor, was a member of Chancellor Kohl's kitchen Cabinet. But the unconditional loyalty he showed toward the Chancellor did not allow him the leeway he needed to outline and explain the Chancellor's policy to others.

When Helmut Kohl was unable to explain the political context and to make his government's decisions understandable to a wider public, Herr Ost was able to offset these drawbacks by demonstrating a grasp of the subject and presenting background knowledge.

He made do with catchphrases which journalists in Bonn had long ceased to pay heed.

Johnny Klein is not the type to take his work with Herr Kohl's backroom boys at the Chancellor's Office so seriously as to forget politics in the wider sense.

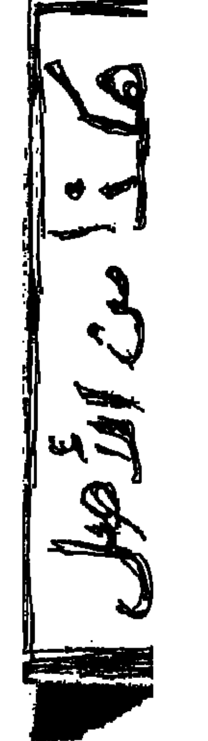
Whether the Chancellor will have sufficient confidence in him to allow him the "unhindered access to official flows of information" Kurt Becker felt to be indispensable is another matter.

That remains to be seen, and Becker's 1985 assessment sounds anything but a hopeful note.

"Under Helmut Kohl," he wrote, "there is no longer any sign of such generosity."

Yet Johnny Klein has survived so many blows of fate. He prefers telling tales

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■ PERSPECTIVE

Change with stability in Europe?

Frankfurter Allgemeine
ZEITUNG FÜR DEUTSCHLAND

When the Cold War began, its main concern was Germany and the countries east of Germany.

Now that ideological confrontation is gradually being replaced by classic power rivalry, the question of the fate of what was once viewed as a kind of "interjacent" European region arises anew.

The Soviet Union has an interest in ensuring that the Stalinist *cordon sanitaire* of 1944/45 does not turn into an earthquake zone; the West has an interest in introducing movement to the "concrete block."

Otherwise, East-West dialogue could break down overnight, since negotiations on arms and doctrines alone are not enough to shape a political order.

Following arms control, conflicts in the periphery, bilateral bones of contention between the superpowers, and human rights eastern Central Europe will increasingly become a major item on the agenda of world politics.

A new report by the Rand Corporation in Santa Monica, the most important "think-tank" in the United States, describes the problem: "Instability in easter Europe probably entails the greatest risk of an extensive upheaval in international politics.

The report continues:

"How can self-determination be achieved for these countries and how can the military threat assocated with the massive military presence of the Soviet Union be reduced and at the same time the possibility prevented of a Soviet military intervention which could disrupt the process of reform in the Soviet Union and in Eastern Europe, cause conflicts in the western alliance and jeopardise peace in Europe?"

The Bush Administration is currently preoccupied with similar questions.

Answers are being considered which were known as the "Sonnenfeldt doctrine" during the first phase of detente and which were forwarded by the Harvard historian Richard Pipes in the national security council during the brief Andropov era: a tacit agreement on mutual restraint, an agreement by the East not to intervene and an agreement by the West not to capitalise on the situation.

A new Yalta? The warning comes from Europe. The Yalta myth maintains that the agreement divided the world.

In reality, however, the British and the Americans employed the "Declaration on Liberated Europe" against Stalin to save what could be saved.

Yalta is not an argument against political dialogue. It is, however, protest against possibly by-passing the Europeans when making decisions.

The western alliance must conduct the strategic dialogue in unison, albeit with differing roles.

Otherwise it would only lead to division in the West and to uncertainty in the East.

It should also be recalled that there is plenty of experience with past conflicts and their settlement, ranging from the West's policy on Berlin to the Federal Republic of Germany's Deutschlandpolitik.

All this must become a part and a means of the comprehensive western policy on Eastern Europe which has yet to be elaborated.

The security component can no longer be the sole determinant element. It must, however, provide a safeguarding framework.

A link can be established between far-reaching change in the conditions and structures of European security and the granting of greater autonomy to the national and states of Eastern Europe — moving even as far as a formal renunciation by the Kremlin of the Brezhnev doctrine of the limited sovereignty of socialist states.

The negotiations on confidence-building and conventional stability in Europe could be highly significant if they make cross-frontier troop movements such as those in 1956 in Budapest and 1968 in Prague more difficult or even impossible.

The time has come for the West to demand a serious political price for the economic services it renders.

Why is not possible to offset the various currencies of power against each other, the economic strength of the West against the military strength of the East?

Both superpowers already practice this approach in regional conflicts outside Europe. Fundamental difficulties, however, remain.

Henry Kissinger claimed that, in the final analysis, peace can only be created by hegemony or a balance of power.

In Kissinger's own words: "There is no other way. Yet we are too isolationist for hegemony, and we were always too moralistic for the balance of power. This is the crux of our difficulties."

As former security adviser and Secretary of State Kissinger had plenty of opportunities to take a closer look at America's problem with the aspect of balance.

Today, however, a dynamic rather than static balance of power is the objective, which makes things much more difficult.

Stalin's *cordon sanitaire* cannot continue in its present form.

All the facts speak against this: Gorbachov's revolution from above as well as the unrest from below in the old countries of eastern Central Europe.

Yet a dismantling of the Soviet empire runs contrary to Gorbachov's logic. On the contrary, any weakness at the periphery would have repercussions in the centre and make the upheaval of the Communist system unpredictable.

On the other hand, the Soviet Union can only become a modern world power if it finds the strength to develop a security policy which does not see tanks as its last resort.

The big question for the East and West today, therefore, is whether change and stability in eastern Central Europe can be combined without endangering the security interests of East and West.

Between the Elbe and the Bug the decision may be taken between on whether there is simply a strategic break between East and West or whether a reliable order can be established for a fragile continent.

Michael Stürmer

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 29 April 1989)

German reunification 'not an option' — veteran observer

His friends regarded him as the clear-sighted critic of American "Ostpolitik" after 1945; in the circle of the great foreign policy thinkers of the USA he ranked as an outsider.

At the age of 85 George Kennan is back — not self-opinionated, but satisfied that his former theses come pretty close to today's political realities.

An appearance before the Senate's Foreign Policy Committee in Washington was followed by an essay on "The German Problem", which he wrote for the Institute of German Current Affairs Studies at the Johns Hopkins University.

The advice of the wise authority on the Soviet Union from Princeton is again much sought-after now that the transformations in the USSR and in Eastern Europe as well as European unification efforts cast a different light on this theories.

Only in the White House, which ignored him altogether during the past decade, has Kennan been unable to find any sign of a consideration of a fundamentally new stance by Nato "in view of the recent changes in the Soviet Union."

Kennan criticises the fact that Moscow's disarmament initiatives have generally met with hesitant and restrained responses in the West.

This indicates that "the western capitals see more risks than opportunities in such initiatives."

In his treatise for the Hopkins Institute, which Kennan characterises as "personal opinions", he lists a number of reasons why his advice was not in demand in Washington.

After the Berlin blockade in 1949 a western stance was needed on Germany.

Part withdrawal

Kennan's advocated a proposal which "included an at least limited withdrawal of both western and Soviet forces from the centre of Germany and which would have enabled the setting up of a kind of all-German government, albeit neutral and demilitarised, in the region concerned."

At that time he already felt that this would be a more promising approach in the interests of the "longer-term interests of Europe", whereas the approach actually adopted — the foundation of a separate West German state — would only cement the division of the continent for an indefinite period.

Had he known at the time that others in Washington were already considering West Germany's rearmament and its possible membership of Nato his rejection would have been "even stronger."

Kennan's early ideas were steamrollered by events. Today, however, the problems he addressed are again highly relevant.

In 1966 he wrote in his memoirs that "if Eastern European countries should one day insistently demand a kind of reintegration into the community of Europe in general, and if the nature of their relations with the Soviet Union is such as to permit this to take place peacefully, the limitations of the arrangements of 1949 (division) and 1955 (decision on Nato membership) would become immediately apparent..."

Today, the former diplomat can no longer imagine a demilitarised and neutralised Germany.

He is convinced that the reunification of Germany is "simply not an option in the foreseeable future."

In his opinion, in view of the greater room to manoeuvre afforded to Eastern European countries following Gorbachov's reforms, the increasingly more difficult yet better relationship between the GDR and the Federal Republic of Germany, and the growing convergence of the European Community it is more advisable to seek a solution to the German Question within a European framework.

Kennan also feels that a "Europeanisation" is also the only hopeful solution for the divided city of Berlin.

Herbert Winkler

(Nurnberger Nachrichten, 24 April 1989)

Spokesman Klein

Continued from page 4

his past to sounding out his prospects *in Munich and Bonn.*

He was born on 11 July 1931 in Mährisch-Schönau, Sudeten Germany, in what he calls "the Austro-Bavarian region former Bavarian Premier Alfons Goppel saw as the home of the fourth Bavarian race."

His father died when he was only a few weeks old; his mother died when he was 13, just after they had been evacuated.

As a boy he was trained as a last-ditch *Werwolf* by the SS Brandenburg Division, learning how to handle explosives and Wehrmacht firearms.

After the war he was sentenced to 20 years' hard labour by the Czechs, but expelled after serving nine months on a farm.

Johnny Klein today is a self-made man. His political credo, he says, is freedom, democracy and the free-market economy. They are concepts he feels mean something.

When the going gets tougher he relies on even more clear-cut principles. "First, I am punctual; second, I keep my shoes shined; third, I don't drink; and fourth, I force myself to be disciplined in what I say when it really matters."

Is one to envisage him as part of Chancellor Kohl's last stand? He feels it is an amusing idea, and he is certainly a shrewd choice for the job.

What is more, the potted biography of the new chief government spokesman in Bonn testifies to greater determination to survive than Helmut Kohl's opponents may be able to imagine.

Nina Grunenberg

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 21 April 1989)

■ FINANCE

Spring report brings touch of summer after a winter of discontent



The traditional spring report of the economic research institutes has appeared at just the right time for the Bonn government, which is hardly being snowed under with success.

The institutes praised the government on its first working day after the cabinet reshuffle.

It said that economic and financial policies applied in the past year had contributed to strengthening economic development.

The institutes predicted a growth rate of three per cent for this year.

But there were also warnings. The economists warned against restrictive money policies, which could lead to setbacks in the economy.

This passage could easly lead to misunderstandings. The pundits are not here counselling a policy of letting things largely fend for themselves.

The idea, that the money supply should not be measured too precisely, is only meaningful if the institutes' reminder to enlarge the room for manouevre for providing goods and services is taken seriously.

It is this second point which is ignored to a large extent in the discussion about the appropriate money supply.

Here consideration must be given also to the appeal to employers and employed not to gear themselves to an acceleration in inflation in wage negotiations.

What should the government do if the economy is going to develop in a restrained manner in 1990?

The government must primarily find its way back to consistent policies. Performances such as that about withholding tax (first introducing it, then suspending it) or the indecision about the merger of Daimler-Benz with MBB (for three years, the FDP pressed for the takeover and then they rejected it) are not likely to win public trust or strengthen the faith of companies in finance and economic policies.

This trust matters for, primarily with an eye to the single European market, it will be easier for companies from 1993 onwards to move abroad, if they are not happy with the sitution in the Federal Republic.

Despite all prophecies of doom the Federal Republic is a good place to manufacture and do business. The report confirmed that German manufacturers are competitive and that, in the meantime, they are likely to remain so.

The high level of training, good infrastructure, social stability, legal protection and the free transfer of capital are not easily available in other countries.

Research and development investment is up to international standards. The economists who drew up the report pointed out that the volume of investment showed that this was how companies saw things.

The predicted increase in equipment investment from seven to eight per cent showed that companies wanted to be at the ready for a long period of growth.

The latest Bundesbank monthly report shows a continuous high level of West German direct investment in other countries.

But this export of cash, which from a biased viewpoint is seen as a flight of capital from time to time, should be regarded as investment in the maintenance of the Federal Republic as a suitable location for manufacturing activities — at least within an international economics context.

Most direct investment goes into countries to which West German companies export. It serves as a means for consolidating their presence in markets and helps to overcome trade restrictions.

Distribution and service networks have to be built up and it is natural that an export-oriented country should locate some of its production close to markets where sales are made. It is a good thing to secure outlets through foreign investment.

But the Federal Republic must remain an attractive location for production, because exporting jobs will lead to under-employment in the Federal Republic.

Seen from an international economics point of view it is also important how investment and possibilities for employment are distributed. Otherwise too much will be asked of the mobility factor among working people.

The institutes rightly urge extensive corporation tax reform. That should be on the agenda of the next legislative period, but companies still do not know which taxes will be changed and how they will be altered.

Furthermore subsidies should be reduced extensively. This would not only be meaningful from an economic policy point of view, it would also help to reduce tensions with partners abroad.

Subsidies have become the ammunition for trade wars. This is, of course, true not just for the Federal Republic.

The development of prices conceals the danger that real private consumer demand is not increasing so markedly.

The decrease in capacity utilisation in the coming year could mean that in 1990 there will be less investment.

This could lead to a reduction of imports, while exports would perceptibly increase, according to the economists. If this were to happen it would mean an increase in the size of the export surplus.

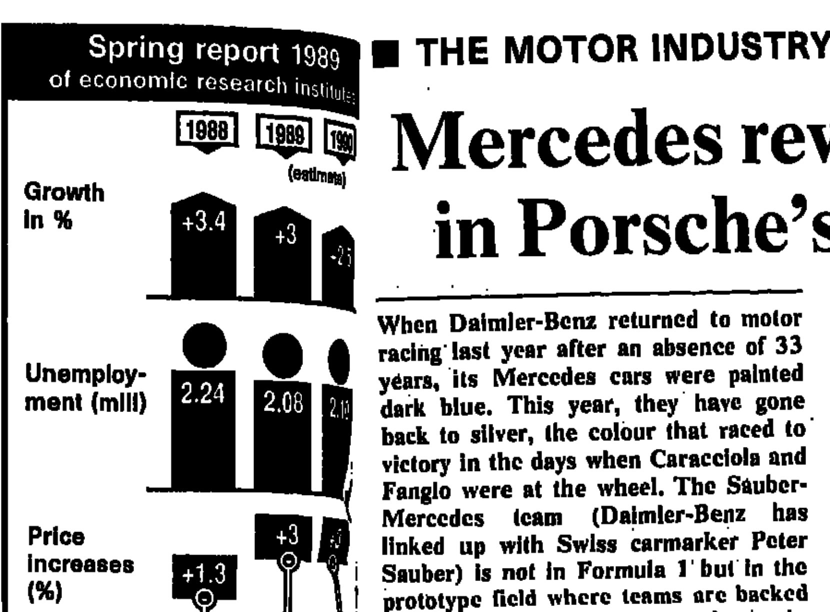
The third stage of tax relief, which comes into effect in 1990, could be the trump card the government has up its sleeve. If growth is to be long- then employers, employed and p- cans must be prepared to be mo- ible.

It is not sufficient if the govern- calls for that from employers/emp- ed, who argue tirelessly about the d- ration of the working week, the sac- sanct nature of the weekend and operating times of machines.

They must themselves make eff- deregulate. The way preparation been handled for late-opening for does not give confidence that th- been accepted.

Carl Graf Hohe-

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Ze- Deutschland, 26 Ap-)



Joy over scrapped tax, but how will deficit be made up?

The government has not only decided to suspend the 10-per-cent withholding tax on interest income until joint European Community regulations are proposed, but it has eliminated it from its fiscal plans.

In doing so, the government has quashed one of its most unpopular pieces of legislation. This follows two things: one, the onset of shock after the latest election defeats; and, two, pressure from the commercial banks, insurance companies and even the central bank, the Bundesbank.

The new Finance Minister, Theo Waigel, does not have the time to trim the law to cut the cost of collecting the tax and to exempt small savers entirely.

Instead of improving what was worth improving, the government has simply shelved the idea.

Many will celebrate the backdown and will be pleased at the way things have turned out — not least the Opposition. Rarely has a Bonn government presented such an easy target.

The jubilation ignores the fact that four billion marks will now have to be made up elsewhere.

If the coalition believes it cannot tax income from property any more, then another source must be tapped — and there is no doubt that will involve sections of the population that are less capable of defending themselves from an onslaught of this kind.

At first glance many may see Waigel's back-down, in view of the wide-spread displeasure about it, as an instance of the proper functioning of democracy in the Federal Republic.

On a second glance the situation is quite different. It is rather a capitulation before the mismanagement of the Finance Ministry and before the surge of cash fleeing across the country's frontiers — a capitulation in any event with fatal consequences for taxpayer honesty and for the growing together of the European Community.

The principles of stability and efficiency in taxation have fallen out of the running. CSU general-secretary Huber once praised the tax as "a contribution to greater fairness in tax collection."

People who have no hope of escaping tax liability will have to pay up. It is almost as if the police only pursued lame footpads.

The Bonn back-down has done little practical good in other sectors.

In the first place the uncertainty, undoubtedly created by the introduction of the withholding tax, has not been removed by its suspension.

At an EC level tax harmonisation will remain on the agenda for years to come, and investors have the example of Austria before them, where withholding tax is being applied for the second time.

In the second place bank secrecy, which was given the force of law in the course of the introduction of withholding tax, continues to exist in its strictest form.

Investors must see this additional assurance from Waigel as a sly invitation not to be too precise in their declaration of interest income.

Many an upright tradesman will accept what is true for interest as being also true for the fruits of his labours. Why should he let the tax office have anything to do with what he earns to a greater or a lesser degree after working hours, if others, who earn cash while they are fast asleep, do nothing ab- it? This is Bonn's special contrib- to taxpayer honesty and the - against moonlighting.

To abolish withholding tax at point of time, when officials in Br- sels are trying to hammer out gui- lines for withholding tax, shows a l- of sensitivity for European affairs.

A country like France simply c- not afford to have all barriers for movement of capital pulled down long as other EC countries in fact away with taxing interest income.

By backing down on withholding Bonn has done a disservice to the - eralisation of capital markets.

Certainly the introduction of - tax was not a glorious chapter in history of the Finance Ministry.

Ministry officials still do not - properly how relevant regulations - erate in detail in Britain and Swit- land; on the contrary, they belie- they could do without the experie- other countries had gained in - field.

The consequence was a series of bungles, even up to the introduction of the tax at the beginning of the year.

No real efforts were made to familiarise people in this country with the significance and the considerable dyna- ics of interest income, and to explain - matter to people.

Nor was anything done to bring - for discussion the system of tax- tracer notes, basically more rigid, in the USA and Holland, for example.

Compared with these measures - holding tax would seem to be a ver- nor evil.

By abolishing the tax no problem have been solved which existed when - was introduced. Abolishing it has - compromised the former Finance Min- ister, and now Defence Minister Ger- hard Stoltenberg.

Gerd Zitzelsberger

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 26 April 19-)



■ THE MOTOR INDUSTRY

Mercedes reverts to silver in Porsche's slipstream

When Daimler-Benz returned to motor racing last year after an absence of 33 years, its Mercedes cars were painted dark blue. This year, they have gone back to silver, the colour that raced to victory in the days when Caracciola and Fanglo were at the wheel. The Sauber-Mercedes team (Daimler-Benz has linked up with Swiss carmarker Peter Sauber) is not in Formula 1 but in the prototype field where teams are backed by makers of cars driven on the roads. Formula 1 racetracks have long ceased to be test circuits for assembly line models. But Daimler-Benz says it will have no choice to turn to the publicity-hogging Formula 1 if success in prototype racing is not accompanied by a lot of publicity. This story was written by Michael Petersen for *Stuttgarter Zeitung*.

Behind the pits at Suzuka, Japan, Daimler-Benz's Bernd Harling was told to his face by a Tokyo journalist:

"You would probably rather see our Japanese racing cars painted white with a rising sun on their bonnets."

He wasn't far wrong; the Japanese journalist was merely taking the Mercedes racing philosophy to its logical conclusion.

"We have no interest in keeping the flag flying," Harling says. What he and Daimler-Benz want is to see the Mercedes star reign supreme on the world's racetracks. Says Harling, in charge of marketing Mercedes motor racing successes:

"There has to be more to it than just helping our engineers to make a success of their secret love affair with motor racing."

So Mercedes first past the chequered flag all over the world, followed by cars in the Japanese livery, must surely be just what Daimler-Benz executives would like to see on the quiet.

The Mercedes racing colour is silver, as it was before (and after) the Second World War. As Harling admitted to nearly 100 Japanese journalists:

"We have re-entered the running to make sure that the legendary motor racing successes of the Mercedes Silver Arrows is not forgotten."

Daimler-Benz still benefits from memories of the superb career successes of Mercedes drivers such as Rudolf Caracciola, Hermann Lang, Karl Kling and Juan Manuel Fangio.

Last season's dark blue livery of the Sauber Mercedes equipe in Year One of Daimler-Benz's return to motor racing after a break of 33 years was thus little more than a primer.

In March, at this year's Geneva motor show, Daimler-Benz's Werner Niefer issued instructions to "spray 'em silver."

This order by the company's No. 2 puts the Mercedes team under very heavy pressure. The Silver Arrows have a reputation (not entirely true, of course) of never having lost a race. Defeat would sadly dent this reputation for invincibility.

Four kilograms of silver paint on each of the Sauber Mercedes prototype sports cars are merely the icing on the cake of plans to resurrect past duels between leading motor manufacturers on the world's racing circuits.

In the 1930s or 1950s hundreds of thousands of fans keenly followed the progress of the Mercedes, Auto Union, Alfa Romeo, Maserati or Jaguar teams.

Mercedes today is keen to beat teams backed by leading carmakers, as opposed to what Daimler-Benz director Jürgen Hubbert refers to as sausage or cigarette brands.

The Stuttgart carmaker feels Formula 1 racing is predominated by the stickers of sponsors who have little or nothing to do with the motor industry.

That is one reason why Daimler-Benz have decided first to compete in the sporting prototype circus.

Grand prix races have grown steadily more popular while the prototype season has been one long and boring succession of Porsche wins.

It has not been professionally marketed either. Bernie Ecclestone, who rules the roost in Formula 1 racing, promised to keep an eye on the prototypes, but has yet to do so to any great effect.

Wins that go unnoticed while grand prix racing hogs the headlines are not what Daimler-Benz have in mind. Should the Silver Arrows win, but without the publicity that is envisaged, Mercedes will have no choice but to go in for Formula 1 racing.

Yet on the grand prix circuit drivers, not manufacturers, are in the limelight, and racetracks have long ceased to be the testbed for assembly-line models.

"Everything can be put through its paces on the works testbed," says Hermann Hiereth, Daimler-Benz prototype project manager.

"Even so, work under pressure of the next racing deadline and the keener motivation of engineers anxious to see their car first past the chequered flag lead to swifter results."

Daimler-Benz executives are also expecting there to be a greater sense of pride on the assembly line after a weekend when the Mercedes team has notched up victories in its racing silver.

Carmakers are already showing keener interest in the prototype category. In their comeback at Suzuka, Japan, the Silver Arrows swept in first and second to beat Jaguar, Toyota, Nissan, Mazda and private Porsche teams.

Memories of the twofold 1954 win in France by Fangio and Kling naturally came to mind. BMW are now seriously considering joining the fray.

Behind every Porsche, there's a silver Mercedes.

(Photo: Michael Petersen)

In the first four races of the German season, in which Daimler-Benz are investing roughly half their eight-digit racing budget, BMW M3s have three times shown Mercedes 190s a clean pair of rear lights.

Even Honda, with a superb image earned in a succession of Formula 1 wins, may switch competitions in a bid to beat Daimler-Benz, the world's oldest motor manufacturer.

Despite the enormous Mercedes potential it would normally have taken much more time and hard work to convert a policy decision by the Daimler-Benz board into a successful Silver Arrows venture.

Mercedes can count itself lucky that Peter Sauber, the Swiss racing carmaker, decided in 1984 to try a Mercedes V8 Turbo in a chassis of his own, arguing that "everyone uses Porsche engines."

The Mercedes engine is based on the engine that made such a difference to the performance of the world record-winning C111 in 1979.

Daimler-Benz engineers were assigned to looking after the five-litre turbo engine for Mercedes customer Peter Sauber, who says: "I had a staff of eight, including a secretary."

They worked for him from 1984, sacrificing many a day's holiday. Yet officially Daimler-Benz would have nothing to do with motor racing.

By 1986, and definitely by 1987, the Sauber Mercedes was able to hold its own — even though shafts broke and the transmission of the 800-hp engine found the going tough.

Mercedes engineers soon dealt with these shortcomings. A most important aspect was the fund of racing know-how and experience the firm had at its disposal.

The Silver Arrow's return would have been a much more difficult proposition had it not been for Peter Sauber in Hinwil, near Zürich.

With Daimler-Benz backing Sauber has grown from virtually a one-man show to a payroll of 40, as against the Daimler-Benz payroll of 340,000 all over the world.

Yet he has something to offer that Daimler-Benz cannot call their own: a small, flexible and experienced team that makes and runs racing cars.

Even so, Daimler-Benz are more than a mere engine supplier, which is what Honda are to McLaren, for instance.

Peter Sauber ("I'm a Daimler man") and his firm are increasingly being taken over by Mercedes.

Daimler-Benz cannot afford to wear other people's laurels — and have no intention of doing so. So there can be no question of Daimler-Benz commissioning a racing engine for the 1990s from Porsche. "Then," says Hermann Hiereth, "everyone would say Daimler have the

Continued on page 8

■ THE ECONOMY

Daimler merger bid still not decided

The cartel authority has rejected the proposed controversial merger between Daimler-Benz and Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm. But the decision is not final. The parties can appeal to the Economics Minister. The case has been complicated by the fact that the planned takeover, which would produce a mega-group with annual sales amounting to almost 4 per cent of Germany's GNP, was first mooted as a result of government encouragement. Klaus Peter Krause picks up the story for the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*.

The cartel authority has done what the law dictated and forbidden the merger of Daimler-Benz and Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm.

The decision is in line with public opinion and with the view of many who professionally have to deal with matters of competition.

The merger would involve two giant groups in the largest amalgamation ever in Germany.

When Daimler took over AEG there was discussion about "size itself," and there were calls for fundamental prohibitions against mergers of this size.

Where there is such a powerful concentration of economic power one cannot be blamed for thinking that it is a threat. But economic power does not necessarily have to be a power for evil. It should not be disregarded or underestimated that the merger can create, enliven or maintain competition.

A giant Daimler/MBB deals with markets which stretch all over the world, particularly markets concerned with aviation, space and defence.

Daimler/MBB must compete with organisations which have a similar economic clout, behind which as well their are state interests with the tax-payers' financial potential.

To break down or avert almost monopoly positions of economic giants, or impede or hamper existing or possible independence, does not reduce competition but promotes it.

Anyone who bears that in mind must tolerate that two organisations such as Daimler and MBB will joint forces and become a giant.

This giant can preserve powerful entreprenurial initiatives of a dynamic management and appear on the world market as an aggressive competitor.

Obviously the success aimed for is as uncertain as the future itself. But possible failure should not be the reason for dictating to companies to refrain from trying to be successful.

Reasonable reservations against a giant group are only predictions like the reasonable hopes which are linked to it.

In this respect "size itself" is not inevitably reprehensible. In this respect a giant merger such as the Daimler/MBB link-up should not be prohibited for the reason thatg such a merger creates a giant organisation.

The merger should not be prohibited just because of its sheer size even after the application of merger controls.

It is not so simple for the cartel authority for good reasons. The new conglomerate, which comes into being with the merger, operates with many different companies on many different markets. The authority must sound out these markets individually to discover whether the merger creates or strengthens market dominance.

The authority has found that this is the case and has prohibited the merger.

Nevertheless competition must not be limited by this because current legislation confirms the merged firms acquire market domination.

Much more important is how they act in the marketplace: do they limit competition through their conduct, for instance through contracts which put up obstacles to outsider competition, cutting out potential competitors and so curtailing the freedom of competition.

It is also decisive whether and to what extent the state limits the freedom of competition. Does the state make it easier or possible to gain a dominating position in the market or promote conduct that restrains competition.

State limitations on the freedom of competition are just as numerous and damaging as limitations in the private sector. The most important barriers to market access are created by the state.

In this respect competition would be helped a lot more if the state were to remove its own limitations, instead of acting against imagined or real limitations in the private sector with regulations.

In this respect the current merger controls are like shooting at sparrows with canon, making merger control legislation at this point of doubtful value.

This causes doubt as to whether it makes sense prohibiting the Daimler/MBB merger in line with this legislation.

Furthermore the state is almost the only client in the market for defence technology, so that competition hardly exists. Can the merger then limit the competition which is not there in the first place?

Looked at in this light would it not be "an error against the social system" if Economic Affairs Minister Helmut



Haussmann were not to approve the merger? he could do this for other grounds demanded by law.

But this merger case is unfortunately more complicated. It is not going to take place because Daimler and MBB themselves see its entrepreneurial advantages, but because they were forced into it by politicians in control.

Behind this there is the (acceptable) motive of unburdening the state of the financial risks involving the Airbus. Behind this there are also industrial policy motives and therein lies the mistake.

The state should not form the economy according to its ideas of company, industry and economic structure; that is a matter for companies.

If despite all, because of the Airbus risks, the state becomes a merger promoter, then it cannot remain also a shareholder.

So long Bavaria, Hamburg and Bremen as shareholders could and would apply state influence on enterprenurial decisions Daimler/MBB could not conduct themselves adequately in a business sense and professionally.

This essential condition must be fulfilled. If it is not, ministrial approval is inappropriate.

Klaus Peter Krausse

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 25 April 1989)

Lots of internal combustion over price of gasoline

Events of the past few days will awaken memories which had been almost forgotten during the past few years of plentiful energy supplies.

For instance, getting wise to petrol prices of DM1.50 per litre and more; the heated discussion on price arrangements between the oil companies; and on the actions of the cartel authority.

Now, since super-grade petrol is almost back to DM1.30, the old mistrust of the oil companies is revived. People talk about exorbitant prices and there are calls for boycotts against the wicked multinationals.

Once more petrol is showing itself to be a material which quickly ignites emotions.

To be objective: if petrol is today so expensive that is certainly due to a whole series of petroleum industry price increases. But it is perhaps completely forgotten that the Bonn government, with its increase on the general tax on consumption, has contributed just as much to the price increase.

Petrol was increased by 14 pfennigs at midnight on New Year's Eve this year. If it were not for the impact of this petrol would be hardly more expensive than DM1.10 per litre.

This obviously does not alter the fact that since the beginning of the year the oil companies have raised prices by 16 pfennings in seven increases.

They have not done this in the form of a gentlemen's agreement, when they manipulate the market over champagne and caviar.

The price increases for products such as petrol and heating oil are the result of more expensive crude and this has its origins in shortages which have been caused by a multitude of factors.

Suggestions of this sort will arouse the scorn of those who recall prognoses of worldwide oil surpluses well into the 1990s.

That has not changed in principle, but it is obvious from the current state of the oil market that such long-term predictions do not exclude congestions in the short-term.

The Organisation of Petroleum-Exporting Countries (OPEC), often risible because of its apparent powerlessness, is responsible for one of these bottlenecks.

Contrary to all expectations the 13 member-states are keeping to their agreed production limits of 18.5 million barrels per day.

This alone would not yet have freed the market from its surplus position. The present shortage is due to some extent to production problems in the North Sea.

Production from this key area for European oil supplies fell by 25 per cent after the catastrophe on Piper Alpha and the explosion on another production platform.

This loss, together with the temporary halt to production in Alaska because of the disastrous oil spill in Prince William Sound, has not been cushioned in the short-term, and this time round producing countries outside OPEC, such as Mexico, Denmark and the Soviet Union, have cutback production.

While on the supply side less oil has been extracted than usual, demand contributed to the shortage, at least as far as petroleum was concerned.

Due to the mild winter in central and northern Europe the motor car was used far more than is usual at this time of the year.

Then last but not least, over the past few months refining capacities in the USA have become barely sufficient, so that demand, particularly for petrol, has sp[illed] over into Europe, and has pushed up price of oil at Europe's oil centre, Rotterdam.

This all shows that the world oil market functions according to the principle of interconnecting pipelines; that the supply demand factor reacts instantly to changes all over the world.

There is no question that the latest series of price increases will pour considerable profits into the oil companies. Naturally they profit from excess demand wherever they are sitting on oil resources from Texas to Louisiana, from Alaska to Canada.

But the market is such that for a long time it has operated in the opposite direction and presented the motorist with cheap petrol. Now, in view of its increase high, it is popular to turn to the cartel authority Monopolies but this will be of no avail.

The authority burnt its fingers in the 1970s. Cartel officials know that there is extreme competition in the oil business. Indeed 65 per cent of all petrol stations belong to five oil majors active in the Federal Republic.

But the other 35 per cent, particularly the independent petrol stations among them, pursue extremely aggressive pricing policies. More than once they have upset the price structures the majors have fixed on the market.

If they cannot now offer petrol at prices much cheaper than the five, this is proof that no sinister power is being applied, but rather market forces.

To tame these forces is only possible by being economic with the product in demand, until at least there is another change of wind in the oil market.

There were signs mid-April that this was taking place when prices began to crumble away.

Helmut Maier-Mannhart

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 24 April 1989)

Continued from page 8

money and Porsche the know-how." A further problem is that only about 50 engineers are working entirely on motor racing at Daimler-Benz, which isn't enough.

Nervousness is readily apparent in the pits as soon as anything goes wrong, which was the case in Japan when Jochen Mass turned one of the Sauber Mercedes C9s into the pits with a rear wheel out of alignment after spinning on the rain-soaked track and hitting the crash barrier.

The Saturday training session was a write-off and Bernd Harling was upset after a look at the Japanese Sunday papers.

They all had photos of the fastest car in training, Derek Bell's privately-owned Porsche, and none of the Silver Arrows. She must predominate from the training sessions onward," Harling concluded.

The next model, the C11, will be known only as the Mercedes C11 and Sauber's name may even vanish from the overalls of his mechanics in the pits.

The Sauber Mercedes has entered the running this season as a German entry. "To ensure that the German flag is flown when the winners are honoured," Sauber says. It was, he insists, his own idea — and not suggested by Daimler-Benz.

The Japanese were not yet aware of this change. When the winners (Mercedes first and second) were honoured at Suzuka the Swiss flag was flown.

Michael Petersen

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 26 April 1989)

■ NUCLEAR RESEARCH

Speculation about cold fusion plus a warning that failure might be better

DER TAGESSPIEGEL

For weeks the scientific world has been agog about US experiments with cold nuclear fusion reported from Salt Lake City.

Electrochemists Martin Fleischmann and Stanley Pons claim to have triggered nuclear fusion at room temperature.

Chemists and physicists, at a loss to account for the phenomenon in theory, have been plunged into a fever of experimentation.

Scientists' views on cold fusion range from revolutionary to dubious. Is it a sensation or is it a hoax?

The main steps in the two men's experiment are fairly straightforward. Two electrodes, one platinum, the other palladium, were first lowered into a container of heavy water.

Then an electric current of between three and eight volts was passed through the heavy water, splitting it.

The oxygen atoms fused with the platinum electrode, the deuterium atoms (a heavy isotope of hydrogen) with the (negative) palladium electrode.

The palladium electrode was found to grow very hot in the process, in one case even reaching the metal's melting-point, 1,500° C.

What is more, increased neutron radiation, which is generally seen as a pointer to nuclear reactions, was measured.

As no known chemical process accounts for either the heat or the neutrons, Fleischmann and Pons feel they may have discovered a previously unknown variation on nuclear fusion, a process in which atomic nuclei fuse, generating energy.

The cold fusion experiment doesn't require anything special in the way of apparatus, which is why it has been repeated in laboratories all over the world in recent weeks.

One such laboratory was the Hahn-Meitner Institute in Berlin, which specialises in such borderline areas of physics and chemistry.

Three groups of Berlin research scientists have repeated the experiment. They have yet to confirm the Salt Lake City findings.

Yet even though they have not yet been able to report a cold fusion success story of their own, they have been happy to brief journalists who have consulted them on a subject that is definitely newsworthy.

At a press gathering journalists were told that hot nuclear fusion, unlike the "cold" variety, is a process that has long been known to exist. It occurs, for instance, in the heart of the Sun and stars.

Temperatures of several million degrees centigrade accelerate positive atomic nuclei to such an extent that they shake off their natural power of repulsion and fuse, generating fresh energy in the process.

The hydrogen bomb works on the same principle, whereas nuclear fusion has yet to be satisfactorily harnessed for peaceful purposes, such as generating electric power.

Gigantic plasma generators which heat atoms to the required temperatures still use more energy than the resulting nuclear fusion generates.

If this effect could be achieved electrochemically, rather than via high-energy physics, it would, says Professor Arnim Henglein, head of radiation chemistry at the Hahn-Meitner Institute, be "one of the sensations of the century."

As yet, however, there are two points relating to the experiment carried out by Fleischmann and Pons that puzzle scientists.

One is the inexplicable discrepancy between the heat and the neutron effect, the other the difficulty that has been encountered in repeating the experiment.

Fleischmann himself failed to do so successfully at Harwell, the British nuclear research centre, over Easter.

In principle there are three explanations. The first is that cold fusion may be nuclear fusion brought about in a previously unknown manner.

It may also be a newly-discovered electrochemical effect in the process of which heat is generated.

Third, it may be a chain of inaccurate and misleading findings that would make cold fusion not, perhaps, a hoax but the research flop of the century.

Physicists have the gravest doubts about the accuracy of the reported experimental findings. After reading the first detailed reports Berlin nuclear physicist Professor Wolfram von Oertzen says his degree of scepticism has increased from 90 to 95 per cent.

According to physical laws the neutron count at temperatures recorded by Fleischmann, with an energy gain of up to 400 per cent, ought to be a million times higher. The same goes for tritium.

So the scientists who discovered cold fusion ought to have been exposed to a lethal dose of radioactive contamination. Failing which they may arguably have come across an entirely new kind of nuclear reaction, one that generates energy but not radiation.

Yet research scientists at the Hahn-Meitner Institute have failed, at least with their neutron detectors, to arrive at neutron counts exceeding the natural "background level."

Palladium, the solid-state electrode metal, seems to play a crucial role. Palladium is known to be an outstanding hydrogen storage unit.

The lattice structure of palladium atoms absorbs smaller hydrogen atoms in its empty spaces like a sponge. Its market price has increased from $28 to $168 an ounce in recent weeks, incidentally.

Fleischmann and Pons have been experimenting with palladium for five years. Other scientists have reported similar experiments with heavy water.

Fusion might presumably be possible due to the constant intake of deuterium atoms increasing pressure to such an extent that some of them fuse to form tritium atoms (tritium is another hydrogen isotope).

A further problem is whether this putative process takes place throughout the metal or merely on its surface.

What part, for that matter, is played by the electric current, what part by the geometry of the electrode array and what part by lithium hydroxide, the electrolyte that makes the water conductive?

Must the experiment be conducted with high-grade palladium, as at the Hahn-Meitner Institute, or is a palladium alloy containing a number of impurities preferable?

The experimental reports so far available fail to specify the materials used, possibly in view of patent rights.

After their first report in the *Journal of Electro-Chemistry* Fleischmann and Pons have withdrawn an article for *Nature* in order to carry out further experiments to review their initial findings.

This news came as a surprise to the scientific world. Cold fusion has been dealt a further blow by two Berlin chemists, Professor Günther Marx and Professor Waldfried Plieth of the Free University.

They and fellow-chemist Professor Gerhard Kreysa of the Dechema Institute, Frankfurt, have come up with a conventional chemical explanation that would account for what appeared to be nuclear fusion in a laboratory test-tube.

The gamma radiation registered, they say, occurs in similar intensity us radiation of the bismuth isotope Bi-214, which can be measured in virtually any building.

In their repetition of the Salt Lake City experiment the three German chemists discovered that the tritium observed was not a fusion product; it already existed in the heavy water.

The third counter-argument advanced by the sceptical trio relates to the heat generated. It is, they argue, due to a reaction by the hydrogen stored in the palladium to the oxygen in the air once the electrolyte level has fallen sufficiently.

Yet many factors may be to blame for the Hahn-Meitner scientists' failure to repeat the Salt Lake City experiment and

Ambivalence in German nuclear energy policy - page 12

report success. One is the feeling of aversion toward the research rat race triggered by the mass media, a race in which sloppy findings sometimes go unchecked and are hailed as a breakthrough.

Solid state physicist Dr Hartmut Bertschat of the Hahn-Meitner Institute refers to a psychological effect, saying:

"If the cold fusion effect is genuine, it is so immensely significant that almost everyone would want to have worked on it from the earliest stage.

"In this climate any movement of a needle that amounts to more than the natural neutron count is seen as important enough to be assessed as important evidence of fusion."

Gradually, and so far largely unnoticed, methodical scepticism has been joined by follow-up scepticism.

At the Hahn-Meitner Institute Professor Hellmut Tributsch points out that initial jubilation about cold fusion seen as a clean, harmless and inexpensive source of energy must not blind us to what may be negative repercussions.

By-products of cold fusion include highly radioactive tritium and neutrons that are important for the manufacture of atomic bombs and converting uranium into plutonium.

Test-tube fusion, if it works, would, he says, "put virtually all countries practically in a position to manufacture nuclear weapons and plutonium and other dreadful things." That would, he fears, be a catastrophe.

Manfred Ronzheimer

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 29 April 1989)

■ THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

Of German witnesses and humane beheadings

Klaus Harpprecht, Willy Brandt's speech-writer and adviser when he was chancellor, has written three considerable books on America and a very readable biography of the Mainz revolutionary Georg Forster.

Forster accompanied Captain James Cook on his circumnavigation of the world, and has sunk into oblivion as a writer.

Harpprecht has now published an admirably researched book on the Germans who, 200 years ago, were witnesses to the French Revolution.

These Germans in Paris were enthusiastic about liberty. They wrote, and feared for their lives, even when in the shadow of the scaffold, which was built as a "humane" method for beheading, built by a German named Schmidt to plans drawn up by Dr Guillotin.

The Germans in Paris, not involved at the centre of events, if one excludes the Swabian curate Reinhardt, who became Foreign Minister, but they were involved observers, regarded the revolutionaries as examples to be followed and indulged themselves in rhetoric.

Klaus Harpprecht speaks of Jean-Baptiste Cloots as being "drunken with words".

This applied also to the teacher Joachim Heinrich Campe from Brunswick, who had arrived in Paris with the young Wilhelm von Humboldt; it applied also to Ölsner, Kerner from Ludwigsburg, Archenholtz, Bollmann, Schlabrendorf, Forster and Friedrich Schulz.

Campe described the first stages of the Revolution enthusiastically. He wrote: "Are these really the people whom we in Germany are in the habit of thinking about under the name of Frenchmen? Were they the whistling, warbling, gamboling fops, the dodgy, puffed out, brainless show-offs, whom we once let cross the Rhine, and in the middle of Germany we saw them turn up their noses in mockery at all things German?"

Harpprecht decribes Campe as a man "with the bright head of a bird on a withered body — the forehead too flat, the nose too narrow, the limbs too thin." Campe, a very articulate man, asked if it were true that "the new Greeks and Romans, whom I can see around me, were they really just a few weeks ago Frenchmen?"

He believed, like the others in the German Club, that he was present at a "process of total alteration and purification of the national character through the fire of the all-powerful sense of liberty."

Others on the 200th anniversary of the French Revolution have turned to some of these witnesses of events in Paris, as did 100 years ago the French historian Albert Babeau.

They concentrated mainly on the reporter Schulz. According to notes in his Paris book of 1791 he died of syphilis, feeble-minded, as a consequence of pursuing his studies too eagerly in the backstreets of the French capital. He was a talented journalist and it is due to him that we have such colourful descriptions of the events of 1789.

No-one has so insistently dug about for information as Harpprecht, who time and time again left his home in Southern France to push ahead with his research in France and the Federal Republic.

The result is an exciting narrative dealing with the first five years of the French Revolution, which began with enthusiasm in every sense of that word, and which, as the author writes, ended up, after the death of Robespierre, "in a path of pain and grief." He also wrote that "the enthusiasm for liberty wilted, but it was never totally extinguished."

It has the effect of a reverberation to learn that the German Johann Friedrich Reinhardt managed the Paris Foreign Ministry for almost two months at the end of the Directoire — after Tallyrand and before Tallyrand, the former Bishop of Autun, whose diplomatic abilities were so badly underestimated at the beginning.

Reinhardt wrote his first impressions of the Paris National Assembly, which after its removal from Versailles convened in the "Manège," in a letter to Friedrich Schiller, who kept a critical distance from the Revolution.

Reinhardt was then 30, a young theologian, "a poet full of hope, full of elan."

He saw in the Revolution "an enormous step forward for the human spirit, and a fortunate prospect for the ennoblement of the whole fate of mankind."

He reached the pinnacle of his career at the age of 38. Schiller's countryman was Foreign Minister up to the day of Napoleon's coup d'état on 9 November 1799.

After a varied career in various places, among his appointments in the service of the King of Westphalia, he died at 76 and was buried at the Montmartre Cemetery in Paris. Tallyrand, five years his senior, made the commemorative speech for him in the Academy.

Much earlier, when the Revolution was in full momentum, Friedrich Schulz was writing with a vivid freshness. The "great and vigorous portrait of the city of Paris," which he depicted as an eyewitness to all the important events 200 years ago, brought him fame, which later dwindled away.

The Duke of Weimar made Schulz a court counsellor on the recommendation of Minister Goethe.

Schultz was a professor in Courland on the Baltic. The citizens voted him into the Polish Parliament. Too early he suffered a severe illness.

Other observers of the Revolution were not much older, such as Georg Forster, whom Alexander von Humboldt brought to Paris and who died there at the age of 40, in bed, which was rare for hotheads in those times.

Klaus Harpprecht: *Die Lust der Freiheit – Deutsche Revolutionäre in Frankreich.* Rowohlt Verlag, Hamburg. Pp.557. DM39.80.

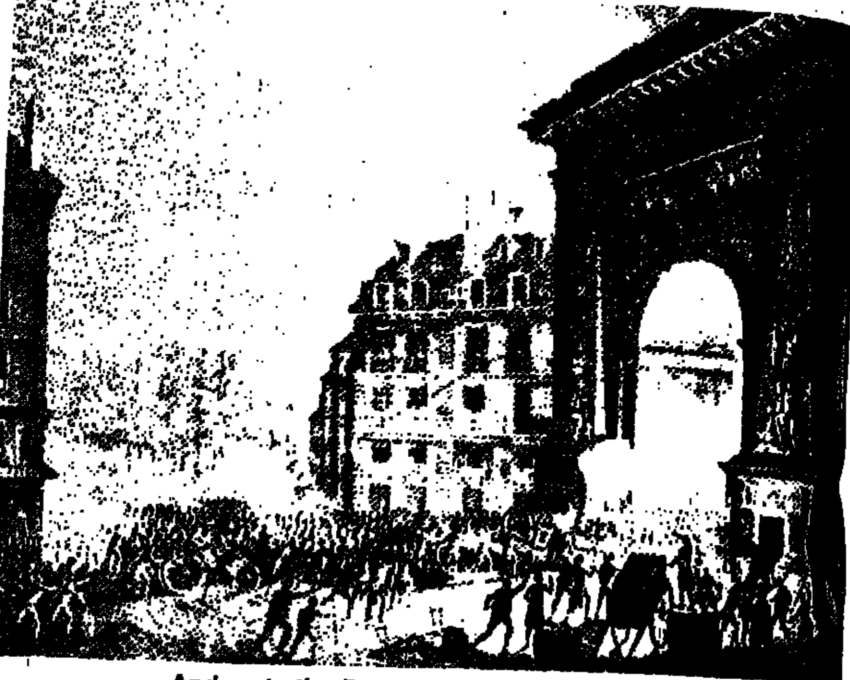
Schultz observed everything, from the small system of the post, which kept 200 postmen constantly on the move, to the sewage system, by which waste was removed.

More important was his observations on the storming of the Bastille on 14 July.

Harpprecht bases his description of this central even of the Revolution on Schulz's observations.

He wrote: "It was not so much the will for victory of the masses as the readiness of the ruling power to capitulate, which gave the Revolution its triumph. It reached the Hôtel des Invalides, in the course of the day it reached the Bastille, the stone colossus, which towered over the citizens of Paris like a mediaeval for-

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And on to the Bastille. A contemporary etching. (Photo: Cat...)

Nostalgia: the demand for used guillotines exceeds supply

Two hundred years after the French Revolution, upheavals are taking place in art galleries and museums.

There is demand for everything and anything which was connected in any way with the storming of the Bastille in 1789, old coins or old guillotines, and of course art.

It is not hard to imagine how heatedly museum directors all over the world have wrangled about loan items.

The people of Duisburg are not alone in having dedicated their 13th "Duisberger Akzente" exhibition to the Revolution: Recklinghausen in its Ruhr Festival has done the same, so has the State Art Gallery in Berlin, the Folkwang Museum in Essen and the Germanische Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg, quite apart from the many exhibitions in France itself and other countries.

In view of this rush for material some museums have only the left-overs, as it were, a Delacroix oil, dating from the 1830 Revolution, "Liberty at the Barricades," or pictures of the Revolution from the studio of Jacques Louis David.

Many of the forthcoming exhibitions trace the consequences of the Revolution on art. Duisberg's Wilhelm Lehmbruck Museum, for instance, has devoted itself to the sculpture of French classicism and the city's Niederrheinische Museum has plainly taken up the difficult Revolution theme.

The Museum has mounted its exhibition with items on loan from the Museum Carnavalet in Paris, whose exhibition is entitled "Free to live or die; The French Revolution and its reflection on the Lower Rhine," and the Museum of the French Revolution in Vizille.

The exhibition details the historical process extending from the storming of the Bastille to the "French period" on the Rhine.

A revolutionary flag with the words which have been used for the title of the exhibition invites visitors to a well-labelled, entertaining tour of the exhibits.

It includes the storming of the Bastille shown on coins minted at the time, a key said to be for the gateway to the Bastille, a rapier belonging to General La Fayette and a coloured sketch by David, showing the famous meeting at

RHEINISCHE POST

the Tennis Court on 20 June — also shows the the awakening signs of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity.

The bloody aspect of the Revolution is highlighted in the next section of the exhibition. A guillotine, originally introduced as a humane device for beheading, causes the visitor to shudder 200 years after the cruel events of the Revolution, this "machine for governing" as the revolutionary Saint Just sarcastically called it. The guillotine claimed more than 24,000 victims.

Contemporary earthenware gives an impression of the transfiguration of the bloody events with motives from the Revolution. (The opening of the 13th Duisberger Akzente was disturbed by left-wing extremists barging in, who had to be evicted by the police.)

This part of the exhibition is made up of items on loan from the Cleves Museum's Haus Kockkock and from private collections.

But there is no lack of items in the exhibition to soothe. A pack of revolutionary cards designed by the philosopher and economist Saint-Simon testifies to this: Genius replace the kings, "Liberty" the queens and "Equality" the jacks.

The third part of the exhibition is announced by a Liberty tree and the tricolour: "End of the great Revolution. A general rules Europe."

The Revolution is raised to the rank of a long-concluded chapter of history by a marble bust of Napoleon, a large-scale oil "The Battle of Waterloo" by Claus Hermann de Boor dating from 1880, various weapons and contemporary books about the turbulent years.

The original ideals are presented mainly in documents displayed in a section dealing with the effects of the Revolution when it reached the Rhine as well as references in the catalogue. These ideals played only a subordinate role in Germany.

Liberty, Equality and Fraternity were manifest in the Rhine by fundamental reforms in the economy, law and administration. These are still having their effect.

Bertram Müller

(Rheinische Post, Düsseldorf, 20 April ...)

■ FILMS

Twinkle, twinkle, little star: you're hired

Casting adviser Horst D. Scheel describes himself as a head-hunter. His target is actors and actresses.

When film producers such as Arthur Brauner or Hans W. Geissendörfer are preparing a new project, when the script is ready, when one or two stars have been signed, the arduous business of filling the minor roles begins. This is where Scheel steps in.

Most agents represent about 40 actors at the most. Scheel has the names of thousands in his head. Most agents are paid by the actors and actresses. Scheel, 38, is paid by producers. He is a casting adviser.

He studies scripts before deciding which actors would be suitable.

When he looked for an actor to play Robert Engel in the TV series *Lindenstrasse*, he thought of Martin Armknecht. Armknecht, a young actor from Düsseldorf had already applied to Scheel once before for a part.

Scheel does not personally know all the actors and actresses he handles. Sometimes he suggests someone he has seen on television or on the stage.

That is what happened with Krista Stadler. She played the part of the deceived wife in Dario Fo's play *Offene Zweierbeziehung*. Scheel saw her and was enthusiastic.

He proposed her for the part of the former wife of Dr Dressler in *Lindenstrasse*.

It was much more difficult to find an actor for the part of Zorro in *Lindenstrasse*. Zorro is a cheeky anachist who nevertheless has "so many charming qualities that his impudence is forgiven."

He looked everywhere in vain for an actor to take the part, then a colleague in Berlin gave him a tip. She told him to have a look at Thorsten Nindel. Scheel had a chat with actor Nindel and in ten minutes he had the part.

When Horst Scheel has made his suggestions to the producer he departs. He has done his work on the film.

"My job is artistic as well," he said. Anyone who knows what talents he has to bring to his job would go along with what he says about himself.

One of the first requirements is a considerable ability to understand people, if the choice of an actor is to be a successful one. He likes to talk to the actors on their own.

A certain gut feeling he has helps him to make surprising decisions, as in the case of Joachim Kemmer.

Director Dominik Graf was looking for a cool police inspector to play opposite Götz George in his crime series *Die Kätze*.

No-one thought Kemmer could do it, but Scheel was convinced.

Scheel said: "Götz George usually outshines everyone. Kemmer's strong personality would act as a counterweight." Kemmer got the part.

No-one is born with ability to spot talent. Scheel acquired his talent in a quite different field.

When he was 15 he began training as a waiter in the Hotel Eden in Düsseldorf. One of his first jobs was to take a glass of water to an elderly lady in her room.

She was the grande dame of the theatre Tilla Durieux, then, at 85, still on tour.

Scheel served many theatrical people at the hotel, including actor-director Fritz Kortner. Explaining his early interest in the theatre Scheel said: "I wanted to see these people, guests in the hotel, on stage." His enthusiasm for the film also started when he was working at the hotel. "Between lunch and dinner there was not much else to do but go to the cinema," he said. But more important for his later career than getting to know cinema, theatre and stars was the chance to observe people all the time.



Of human bondage. Screen agent Scheel (left) with secret agent Roger Moore. (Photo: Max Kohr)

Sometimes he had to take charge of the cloakroom. There he trained himself to remember which overcoats belonged to which guests. Before they had produced their cloakroom ticket he had their coats ready for them.

Astonished guests were generous with their tips. "Then, when I was 18, I did not earn much less than what I earn now," Scheel said. He is self-employed.

He was gripped with a longing for distant places in 1971. He got a new kind of job in Bermuda. There he learned to speak English well and got to know the American way of life.

Two years later he was behind the swimming pool bar at Berlin's Schweizer Hof Hotel. There an American was in the habit of drinking mineral water every morning after his swim. It was film producer Judd Bernard, who was in Berlin preparing to shoot *Sein größter Bluff*, starring Telly Savalas.

Horst Scheel had for a long time been interested in films, reading American cinéaste literature in the original, for then there were rarely German translations of these books available.

Scheel smartly left the memoirs of the legendary hollywood producer David O. Selznick on the bar.

"Bernard was curious, and from then on we only talked about films until he offered me a job as producer's assistant."

The responsibilities of each person in an American filming team are quite clearly laid down. The director's first assistant is his right hand, the second looks after the actors and the third has to see that there are no hitches.

Scheel was taken on for the filming of *Sein größter Bluff*. After a couple of other films he was promoted to be second director's assistant.

When it came to filming *Die Schlemmerorgie* and the James Bond film *Octopussy*, he had to look after George Segal, Jacqueline Bisset, Phillippe Noiret and, of course, James Bond himself in the person of Roger Moore.

Since he was now just responsible for actors and actresses he was now able to pick them out himself. He started to specialise in casting. He began to negotiate for actors and actresses such as Gudrun Landgrebe, Lena Stolze, Jutta Speidel and Heinz Hönig, well known in West Germany, for parts in productions abroad.

Scheel lived in Munich and Berlin until 1985. Then an offer attracted him to Cologne. Hans W. Geissendörfer began filming *Lindenstrasse* and was looking for "new faces" for the inhabitants of his scenes set in the Cologne suburb of Bocklemünd.

Giessendörfer could not seek out all the actors for all the many small parts in his series, so four years ago Scheel took this over.

But he has enough time in between to get involved in other productions. He selected Heinz Bennent for the main part in the film *Im Jahr der Schildkröte*. He also filled the secondary parts in this film.

Scheel said that Geissendörfer is *the* first German producer to use the services of his own casting adviser. The function of the casting adviser has not been used fully until now.

Scheel sometimes takes on roles himself so that he can better understand the people about whom he has to give opinions. He said that this was a trick that had paid off. "I love to act," he said. The roles he prefers are gardeners, doctors, Nazi soldiers, waiters and bar-keepers.

In *Die Kätze* he played a policeman and in *Lindenstrasse* he occasionally plays the part of the slimy house supervisor Hülsch.

In a corner of his Cologne office there are photographs of Sydney Rome, Sophia Loren, Martin Sheen, Sean Penn and other international stars, all with a dedication.

When asked he talks about his friendships with Hollywood stars William Holden and John Cassavetes, both now dead.

He does not claim much glamour for himself, but it takes a lot of coaxing to get him to admit that the "D" in his name simply stands for Dieter.

Others in the film world have used initials: for instance Cecil B. DeMille, David O. Selznick, Hans W. Geissendörfer and Hans C. Blumenberg.

Astrid Windfuhr

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 15 April 1989)

Continued from page 10

tress." Schulz reported what happened after the storming. "Two drums rolled, behind these a man carried before the mob a sheet which read; The Bastille has been conquered."

Two heads were carried on pikes. "The blood streamed over the pikes and over the half-naked bearers."

People watched this hair-raising drama with delirium and satisfaction from the roof-tops. Only at nine at night did they throw the heads into the Seine."

There were horrors at the beginning; terror at the end of the Revolution, which Harpprecht calculates lasted five years, emphasising the significance it still has.

Harppecht relates what the witnesses had experienced. He tries with skill "to open up their enthusiasm for liberty, their grief, their despair."

Emil Bölte

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 20 April 1989)

Steps towards a European identity

It was quite impressive to see Claude Chabrol, calmly filling his pipe, sitting next to Bernardo Bertolucci, next to Krzysztof Zanussi, next to Istvan Szabo in Berlin.

Sixteen famous European film-makers had established the "Society for the European Film" in Berlin.

They reported on the Society they had set up but they produced more statements and expressions of intent than anything concrete about their aims.

There was talk about the search for a cultural and European identity. They spoke about the differences of national cinema, and the directors said that it was their firm intent to maintain national cinema.

Chabrol said that Europe as a cultural entity was larger than political Europe. There was, then, nothing particularly new.

For these directors in search of common European ground the most important feature was getting to know one another.

Chabrol gave voice to this by saying that meeting one another had become vital to get some concept of what the expression Europe meant.

One only came across so many directors at one time during such an event as the Berlin Film Festival.

The 16, apart from Bertolucci, Carlsen, Chabrol and Jörn Donner, as well as Stephen Frears, Kieslowski, Lilienthal, Makavejev, Menzel, Michalkow, de Oliveira, Palma, Hanna Schygulla, Szabo, Wenders and Zanussia, have founded the "Society for the European Film" together with 24 other actors and directors. Ingmar Bergman was elected president.

Other film-makers involved but unable to travel to Berlin included Angelopoulos, Attenborough, Bergman, Fellini, Goretta, Malle, Rohmer and the Taviani brothers, as well as Huppert, Masina and Liv Ullmann, Mastroianni and Theodorakis.

They did not set up, as originally intended, a film academy, but a society whose prime goal will be to present the European Film Prize. This was initiated in Berlin last year and presented in Berlin for the first time.

In 1988 there were demands that the documentary category should be included. It will be.

The venue for the presentations of the 1989 prizes will be Paris but this still has to be negotiated, according to Hans-Robert Eisenhauer, in charge of film matters on behalf of the Berlin Senate.

Aina Bellis has been appointed secretary-general of the Society, which will be financed at first by Berlin, but approaches will be made for European Community funds.

Financing apart there are other questions that have to be answered, such as the statutes of the Society and the dissolving of the association, for which Berlin officials were originally recruited; to deal with the European Film Prize 1988. As yet much seems to be improvised.

The European convictions of the film-makers will be decisive for the success of this organisation set up by them, but also the development of ideas of the previous Berlin arts organisation through the city's new cultural administration.

Berlin is an intersection between East and West as well as a point where cultures can meet.

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 4 April 1989)

■ ENERGY POLICY

Protons, electrons and neutrons spinning aimlessly round in the doldrums

The German atomic energy industry is deep in the doldrums. Three of its prestige projects, linchpins of the latest in nuclear technology that were intended to pave the way well into the next century, are virtually finished before they really got going.

It can only be a matter of time before the fast breeder reactor is shelved, while the high-temperature reactor is shortly to be decommissioned and now the power industry is even prepared to abandon the Wackersdorf nuclear fuel reprocessing plant project.

Three white hopes of technological progress are on the line for the scrapheap. Between them they have cost over DM15bn. Was it all wasted?

Kalkar, the fast breeder reactor, a latter-day perpetuum mobile designed to solve the world's energy problems by generating its own nuclear fuel, cost nearly DM8bn.

The reactor has been built but is evidently not going to be given permission to operate.

The North Rhine-Westphalian *Land* government in Düsseldorf has lost all political interest in the project. The Federal government in Bonn, in charge of nuclear power policy, anxiously refuses to insist on enforcing Federal law in Kalkar.

The high-temperature reactor in Uentrop, Hamm, designed to generate both electric power and process heat, has been operational for nearly two years — with varying degrees of success.

It is now doomed to be shut down because, as a prototype, it is losing money so heavily that no-one is willing to foot the bill any longer. Including shutdown expenditure it will have cost DM5bn.

The proposed nuclear fuel reprocessing facility in Wackersdorf, Bavaria, faces an equally ignominious fate. Officially it is scheduled to cost DM7bn to build; unofficially, costs are already expected to amount to DM10bn.

Reprocessing spent fuel rods from German nuclear power stations, which was to have been carried out in Wackersdorf from the mid-1990s, is now to be handled by Cogéma in La Hague, France.

Provided Rudolf von Bennigsen-Foerder, managing director of Veba, the German power conglomerate, succeeds in negotiating terms for the proposed Franco-German nuclear cooperation alternative, Wackersdorf, which has so far been the most expensive individual German atomic energy venture, may yet turn out to have been the least expensive to shut down.

Actual investment in Wackersdorf has so far totalled DM2.7bn, including well over DM2bn in paperwork and surveys and a mere DM200m-DM300m in concrete and equipment.

While there can no longer be any doubts about the demise of the fast breeder and high-temperature reactors, Wackersdorf's fate is still uncertain after the latest round of Franco-German consultations in Paris.

Chancellor Kohl's comments have been as ambivalent as those of the Oracle of Delphi in Ancient Greece.

The French offer to process German nuclear waste is, he says, a "great opportunity of which we must make use." Yet he still officially insists on going ahead with Wackersdorf as a national nuclear waste disposal facility.

The Chancellor's seeming judgment of Solomon is: "We should like to stand on two pillars."

That was a pronouncement that certainly caused confusion. Was the German power industry to invest billions in reprocessing spent nuclear fuel in France in addition to its commitment to Wackersdorf?

Herr von Bennigsen-Foerder cannot have had this in mind. What he had told the Chancellor at the beginning of March, in a face-to-face talk and in no uncertain terms (and not as a mere aside, as hinted by Bonn government officials), was intended to ease the financial burden on the German power industry, not to add to it.

Reprocessing by Cogéma was to cost a mere third of the bare minimum German utilities could expect to have to pay for Wackersdorf.

Besides, Veba would be able to buy into Cogéma, which would have lent legal weight to the Franco-German nuclear link — and served to ensure that the price remained stable.

It was an offer that went beyond German power utilities' wildest dreams. Rheinisch-Westfälisches Elektrizitätswerk (RWE), the largest German operator, promptly accepted the terms.

In reality the Chancellor's new approach to the problem will merely help him to wait and see and spend even more time sitting firmly on the fence.

The Christian Democrats have spent years backing the Wackersdorf project in the face of all manner of opposition. Bonn has consistently championed Bavaria's cause. So the Chancellor could hardly have backed down without forfeiting credibility.

Yet some of his supporters would have preferred him to do so. They include Hans-Christoph von Rohr, vice-



chairman of the CDU's North Rhine-Westphalian economic affairs council.

For years Herr von Rohr has said Germany must abandon plans to reprocess its own nuclear fuel. He congratulated Herr von Bennigsen-Foerder on having made such a smart move, regretting only that the Federal government had not backed him to the hilt.

"The Federal government," he said, "could have gained political profile by jettisoning tiresome ballast associated with Wackersdorf. Now the power industry says it no longer needs Wackersdorf, it would be a tremendous mistake for politicians to insist on going ahead with the project."

Yet there are good reasons why the Chancellor did not promptly abandon the unloved reprocessing project. "There is," he said, "a gigantic catalogue of questions that awaits the most careful consideration."

This statement may sound like an empty phrase, but it is in fact a pointer to the many difficulties that have yet to be resolved.

The legal position is so complicated that to insist on sudden death for Wackersdorf might well have unwelcome consequences, such as a court order to shut down some or all German nuclear power stations.

This possibility cannot be ruled out, as a glance at the history of nuclear waste disposal readily indicates.

Paragraph 9 a of the Atomic Energy Act makes the peaceful use of nuclear power subject to either or two arrangements for the disposal of contaminated radioactive nuclear waste.

The power company must ensure either that contaminated waste is "appropriately processed to make it harmless" or "disposed of in a suitable manner."

Harmless processing of nuclear waste that can be sure to remain lethally contaminated for tens of thousands of years being impossible, the legal requirement has from the outset been taken to mean reprocessing spent nuclear fuel.

Recycling is, for one, the next best thing to harmless processing; for another, it seemed to be a moneyspinner.

Spent fuel rods contain substantial remnants of nuclear fuel that could be put to further use. If this uranium and plutonium were recycled, it could be reused in fresh fuel rods.

What is more, the plutonium recycled in this way, if used to fuel breeder reactors, would generate more nuclear fuel than it consumed.

When atomic energy was first harnessed on an industrial scale to generate electric power, and when the breeder reactor concept was first devised, the assumption was that natural uranium was available in strictly finite quantities and would sooner or later grow scarce.

Prices were expected to increase steadily, with the result that reprocessing spent fuel rods would make a country less dependent on imports of natural uranium that were bound to grow more and more expensive.

Against this background the legal requirement giving priority to harmless processing of nuclear waste rather than to mere waste disposal makes sound common sense.

The Atomic Energy Act certainly doesn't specify national waste disposal. It merely insists that waste disposal facilities must be shown to exist before a nuclear power station can be given the go-ahead to start generating power.

Nuclear waste disposal must be guaranteed for at least six years, with successive contractual guarantees of further disposal. The moment waste disposal is not guaranteed for a further six years, any or all nuclear power stations might be ordered to shut down.

This must be one of the points Chancellor Kohl meant when he referred to the "gigantic catalogue of questions" that awaited consideration.

The six-year guarantee has so far been considered to exist when the power company has either presented a suitable nuclear waste disposal contract with a foreign operator or submitted that "progress in implementing the integrated waste disposal concept" has been made.

The latter meant headway toward setting up the proposed nuclear waste reprocessing plant in Wackersdorf and the waste disposal facility in Gorleben on the Elbe.

Nuclear power stations for which operating permission was applied for on the understanding that Wackersdorf would be in operation by 1994 thus ran a risk of being shut down by court order if the Wackersdorf project was abandoned.

That is why it is advisable not to scrap Wackersdorf once and for all until legally binding contracts have been signed for the continued disposal abroad of radioactive waste from German nuclear power stations.

That is the legal situation which accounts for the ambivalence of Chancellor Kohl and his Environment Minister Klaus Töpfer.

Their "two-pillar" model cannot be upheld for long, as the Federal government well knows, — unless, that is, it amends the Atomic Energy Act to make national waste reprocessing a mandatory requirement.

If Bonn seriously wanted to uphold the national option, arguably as a means of keeping its military nuclear options open, the Federal government would definitely need to table amendments to the Atomic Energy Act. The present legal position is that reprocessing is mandatory if harmless processing is uneconomic.

The point at which the cost of reprocessing nuclear waste is uneconomic has yet to be clearly specified. Operators of nuclear power stations in the United States, where costs are calculated keenly, have decided against reprocessing spent nuclear fuel.

Ben C. Rusche of the US Department of Energy told a nuclear waste disposal conference held in Munich in 1987 that American operators had yet to arrive at an approach to reprocessing that was economically attractive in relation to the current market price of uranium as nuclear fuel.

In Europe only Britain, France and Germany have opted for reprocessing. Smaller European countries, such as Belgium or Switzerland, have their nuclear waste processed abroad — mostly in France.

The alternative to reprocessing is final disposal, as preferred by the United States, Canada and Sweden (Sweden, like Austria, now having decided to phase out nuclear power entirely).

The Federal Republic of Germany has held open the option of final disposal of spent fuel rods, but Bonn doesn't advocate final disposal as the only viable option.

Cost estimates by Cologne University's department of fuel and power industry that final disposal is only about [illegible] per cent less expensive than reprocessing.

As direct and final storage techniques have yet to be put to the practical test (spent fuel rods first need special treatment), the Federal government has not yet seen fit to recommend this mode of disposal.

If the Cologne cost estimates are accurate, final storage in Germany would even be 30 per cent more expensive than reprocessing in France on the terms offered to Veba — as an attractive alternative.

Cost comparisons between the two alternatives are fraught with uncertainty. Yet if the operators of 106 existing nuclear power stations (and a further [illegible] under construction) in the United States have got their sums right, final storage must surely cost less than reprocessing.

If the cost estimates as calculated by Dominique Finon of IEJE Grenoble are accurate, one is bound to wonder [illegible] gently whether the German power industry is right to join forces with France in reprocessing nuclear fuel.

Finon recently wrote in *Le Monde* that final storage was 10 times less [illegible]

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■ CHILDREN

Helping runaways discover themselves and perhaps their parents as well

When the bell rings three times at 10 a.m. Münster social worker Christoph Kaute knows the caller is a client, and not just a friend. It is someone who needs the services of the "runaways' aid group."

It is a 15-year-old girl, Katrin. She is at her wits' end. All she knows for sure is what she doesn't want: to go back to her parents: "I can't stand it any more."

She has run away from home for the eighth time. Her reasons seem banal. "My mother is constantly nagging at me."

She has spent the past few nights at the local youth protection department and is due to be picked up by her parents that afternoon.

Kaute, 32, who founded the group and is business manager of the charitable society that runs it, tells her exactly what her rights and status are.

He realises how afraid she must feel but he is also aware of the legal situation. Views may differ on how parents bring up their children, he says, but Katrin's parents cannot be said to have abused their parental rights in any actionable way.

After talks and telephone calls arranged between her parents and the local authority youth department she agrees to talk with her parents one last time — and her parents agree not to take her straight back home with them.

An annual 50,000 juveniles are reported missing in the Federal Republic of Germany, and the number is increasing. They run away from their families and from children's homes into a situa-



tion and status that are illegal. The Münster group is the first in the country to be officially recognised for its work in helping juvenile runaways to sort their lives out. It does so unbureaucratically and, if its clients insist, does not divulge their identity or whereabouts.

It was founded seven years ago, since when a growing number of children and young people have sought advice and somewhere to stay. Last year there were 90 clients.

"There are times when all is quiet for days on end," Kaute says, "then suddenly it's one after another."

He keeps one room in his apartment at the ready for runaways to stay the night. If need be, youngsters stay with other members of the group.

Its services are hardly advertised. Most young runaways turn up on the basis of a personal recommendation.

Gabi is one such case. She has been on the road for four days, spending one night at a girlfriend's and the others with people she met at discotheques. She is hungry.

Back home her mother no longer understands what the world is coming to and is worried stiff about the family's reputation. Gabi is sick and tired of her mother's constant complaints and her self-pity.

She is expected to be home by 7 p.m. and to tell her mother everything. Yet her mother understands nothing Gabi might have to say to her: "Not her!"

Gabi's questions are typical of the average runaway: "What am I to do now?" — "What would you do in my place?"

The group's policy is to give as little advice as possible and to talk with its clients instead, enabling them to make up their own minds.

"There's no point in talking the kids' heads off," Kaute says. "They'll just run away again and never come back."

Gabi agrees to the CID being notified. After long and chequered experience the group are now on good terms with the local police.

The police are happy when searches for runaways can be called off because they have found their way to Kaute and his group. In Gabi's case a five-minute phone call is all that is needed for her name to be struck off the "wanted" list.

She eventually moves, with her mother's consent, to a small children's home near her home town. But that is a solution which is the exception, not the rule.

Three out of four runaways eventually want to go back home. "Runaways," the group says, "seldom run away in mindless panic. They usually aren't footloose either."

They often just want to make their point, which is that life at home can't go on as it has been doing. They want to live different lives with the family.

Four out of 10 runaways the Münster group have tried to help have run away from children's homes. They are much less keen on going back. Three out of four eventually do so but one in four stays on the road.

"The children's home kids that consult us are the ones who really suffer," Kaute says. "We are really confronted with the less acceptable face of life in children's homes."

Over half of them are rehoused in shared flats under local authority care or in a smaller home where conditions are, hopefully, better.

In cases of doubt the group has always been prepared to hide runaways until their situation has been clarified. In the past this led to serious trouble with the authorities. Official recognition was hard to come by.

The runaways who need peace and quiet for a longer period are, the group says, invariably hardship cases such as girls aged under 16 who have been sexually abused.

It is absolutely essential to do nothing against the client's will. Otherwise, Kaute says, you will never be accepted as a confidant.

The Federal Ministry of Youth, Family, Women's Affairs and Health helps to fund the project. So do German charitable organisations.

The group's future is assured for the next two years, despite serious financial difficulties, thanks to funds from the proceeds of commemorative postage stamps.

The aim is to act solely in the runaway's interest. "There is no point," the group says, "in sending straight back home someone who is worried and in trouble and has run away from home. That would be neither in the children's interest nor in their parents'."

Rolf Bauerdick/Dieter Schnack

(General-Anzeiger, Bonn, 15 April 1989)

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pensive than (French) reprocessing. A frequent argument put forward against final storage is that it takes up a great deal of space. Reprocessing in contrast is said to reduce substantially the amount of waste that must eventually be stored away for good, making its disposal that much easier.

This argument ignores the risks reprocessing entails, such as that of radioactive gas leakage and of handly highly toxic plutonium, for which special precautions are needed in view of nuclear non-proliferation considerations.

Reprocessing may reduce the quantity of nuclear waste needing final storage but it involves running higher risks.

Direct and final storage of nuclear waste would nonetheless be a solution — if only it existed. Drums of radioactive waste clad in glass or some other protective material cannot yet be stored in a final repository.

There are 404 functioning nuclear power stations and a further 129 under construction all over the world, yet none of the 34 countries concerned has a functioning final repository.

There are plans to store drums of nuclear waste down disused salt mines and in salt, granite or basalt deposits, but they exist only on paper.

In Gorleben mining engineers are exploring salt deposits to check whether they are suitable for storage purposes. But no final repository is expected to be operational before the year 2000.

Wolfgang Hoffmann

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 28 April 1989)

Hotline advice for those with problems big and small

The telephone rings at the Stuttgart office of the *Kinderschutzbund*, or National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. Irmgard Vodosek is at the switchboard.

The caller is a teenage schoolgirl who made a mistake in her homework. She has now been told to write the offending sentence 40 times as a punishment. "Must I accept the punishment?" she asks.

Many calls are connected with school, says Frau Vodosek, one of six switchboard volunteers.

Educationalists aim to make learning fun, but many schoolchildren feel it is anything but fun. Ambitious parents expect them to do better at school than they realistically can.

Friends (ex- or lack of) are another evergreen. Children and juveniles keen to make friends outside the family are attracted by an individual or a group yet feel they aren't accepted. Disappointment deals their self-assurance a sad blow.

Many children call the complaints desk in connection with family problems. Trouble at home ranks third in order of frequency. They feel their parents are bad-tempered, too strict or have no time for them.

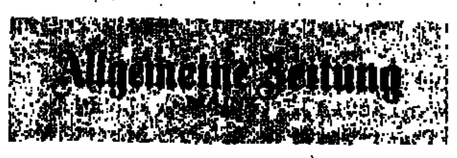
Recurring problems include being told to stay at home as a punishment, when they are expected to be home in the evening, how much pocket money they get and accidents that occur during games and sports.

Most callers are in the 6-16 age group, with the occasional four-year-old or 18-year-old.

Parents also call, worried about their children's problems and anxious to discuss them with someone else.

The Stuttgart switchboard has been manned for 10 years. It was launched after a little girl had confided to a counsellor "something Mummy must never know."

The switchboard is now run on three afternoons a week by six women with practical training. All have brought up



children of their own and gained lengthy experience as *Kinderschutzbund* staff.

The counsellors are on the children's side "because they are in the weaker position in society," yet they can't give specific advice.

The situation outlined in a few sentences is usually much too complicated for a straight answer. Besides, the counsellors can't go against the children's parents (and wouldn't want to do so).

So they first try to make callers regain their self-assurance, assuming it to have been hard hit by gnawing doubts, difficulties and humiliations.

They then discuss the difficulties in broad outline to gain a clearer insight into the background. Once callers themselves have realised what is the matter, Frau Vodosek says, they will solve the problem themselves.

The switchboard seldom has to handle really serious problems. They are handled by other authorities. Most callers are children who want impartial advice and feel misunderstood or disadvantaged.

They feel inhibited about asking friends for advice — for fear of being misunderstood, looked at askance or simply laughed at.

As for their parents, they aren't consulted because "you can't talk it over with them."

This is the point at which the switchboard staff would like to take matters into their own hands. But they know that a few minutes on the telephone can seldom be enough to cope with a problem.

Problems don't arise by the hour and aren't limited to the three afternoons a week when they are on call.

That is why Frau Vodosek would like to see a Swiss-style countrywide, round-the-clock number that can be dialled for the price of a local call.

It will be a while before this is possible, so for the time being she and the others will continue to man their Stuttgart switchboard three times a week.

Anita Högner

(Allgemeine Zeitung, Mainz, 22 April 1989)

■ **HORIZONS**

The big fib on the management floor: no drunkards up here (burp)

The clinic is in a valley in the Black Forest. Audis, BMWs and Mercedes are parked outside the building. The number plates show that they are from other parts of the country.

The cars belong to an exclusive group. Its members are company executives, doctors, professors, politicians, senior civil servants. Apart from status and wealth, they have another thing in common: they are all alcoholics.

There are 53 patients here at the Hornberg Oberberg clinic (where a course of therapy costs about 25,000 marks). There are a about 1.8 million alcoholics in Germany — about one person in 30. About every 20th employed person is an alcoholic and, among executives as many as one in 12.

That doesn't mean that the patients here were known as topers: on the contrary, their habits would, as a rule, be known only to a tight circle of associates. The precise cause is seldom easy to identify: overwork, stress, strain through a feeling of having to take too much responsibility, ambition and frustration all play a part just as does "business drinking" at conferences and business lunches.

The head of the clinic, Professor Matthias Gottschaldt, a neurologist who is also a reformed alcoholic, says: "There is no such thing as THE alcoholic. Every person has his or her individual path. Only in the final phase does the difference between the manager and the railway-station drunk disappear."

He makes a particularly significant observation: most of his patients wait too long before seeking treatment — sometimes more than 20 years.

People now tend to talk more openly about alcoholic journalists, artists, members of parliament. But the topic remains taboo on the management floors. A manager may drink one or two bottles of whisky a day, but he is never a drunkard. Some patients even register at the clinic under assumed names.

Konrad Meier is not his real name. But his case is real enough. The 54-year-old engineer was for many years head of the technical staff of an international business. He and his engineers had places on the board, but no one in the firm ever mentioned his drinking excesses.

He drank too much for 20 years. He doesn't know exactly when he became dependent. One winter morning about five years ago, he was driving his car. The streets were icy and he had an accident. When he was tested, he was found to have 2.56 parts of alcohol per thousand in his blood — an enormously high concentration — although he had not consumed any alcohol since the day before. He decided to seek treatment. And he has not drunk since.

"I still don't know why I became dependent," he told me. "I probably won't relapse, but no one can say for certain." It was on 18 September 1984, at 15 minutes before midnight, that he drank his last glass of wine. He can't allow himself even another mouthful.

Absolute abstinence is the only path for the alcoholic. Specialists in the field agree that there is no such thing as reasonable drinking among alcoholics. Professor Gottschaldt says that it is possible to relapse even after as long as 16 years abstinence.

We met Konrad Meier, an elegantly dressed man in a tweed jacket, in a Düsseldorf hotel. There was a group of travellers in the lobby. All had plastic bags from a duty-free shop. "All full of bottles," said Meier. "I used to do the same — once." He had to travel overseas a lot for the firm, keeping its world-wide activities on the technological ball.

He says: "My work is my hobby. To be involved in progress, to convince people about new ideas, to be able to plan and introduce news technologies all over the world — that is an interesting task. I didn't drink out of frustration."

Well, why did he, then? He laughs apologetically: "It used to be that a real man should be athletic and be able to take his drink." He became an habitual drinker because he had the opportunity almost daily to demonstrate his capacity to drink.

There were business meals with aperitifs, wine and cognac; there were receptions at conferences and exhibitions; there were drinks in the evenings in hotel bars a long way from home; and sometimes there was even a few bottles of vodka shared with colleagues on board a private jet.

Elenore von Rotenhan is an authority on the problem who is employed by Siemens. She says that such men tend to celebrate, for example, a big sale, by drinking a minimum of seven glasses of alcohol. Because each glass, regardless of whether it is beer, wine (in a smaller glass) or schnapps (a still smaller glass) contains roughly the same amount of alcohol, each means, regardless of the weight of the drinker, a blood-alcohol content of 0.2 parts per thousand. "If someone has 1.4 parts per thousand, then the occasion was a relatively dry one."

Konrad Meier confirms that. He also remarked: "A friend of mine was always sick for three days after drinking. He was lucky and didn't become a habitual drinker. Unfortunately I didn't suffer from hangovers."

But sometimes he would wake up at night with his feet at the head of the bed. And over the years, he lost the edge to his work and his powers of concentration waned. As an experienced manager, he was able to a certain extent compensate



for this decline. Sometimes he drank a glass in the morning in the belief that this improved performance.

When his wife complained, he had just laughed. "I thought I could give up whenever I wanted." But he couldn't.

After his accident he took leave from the firm and went to a clinic to dry out. Today he is back at his job and feeling more full of life than ever. So does he warn any of his colleagues who are in the same position as he was? Meier gives a dry laugh: "There's no point in doing that. They wouldn't believe it, just as I didn't."

He was one of those drinkers who needed a certain level of alcohol in the blood to avoid withdrawal symptoms, so he wouldn't get the shakes, so he wouldn't be restless and fidgety. For such alcoholics, two glasses of wine might be enough in the early stages. But over the years, the level is driven higher and higher to new permanent levels of 1.5 parts per thousand or as high as 2.5.

That's why one abstinent "level-of-alcohol" drinker who used to wake himself up in the mornings with a cognac could say: "I have never in my life been drunk." He could perform all routine tasks without problem; for such drinkers, driving is not even a problem. The senses aren't affected. But the liver, stomach, heart and other organs are. The male lifespan in 72. This kind of drinker lives on average to just 49 — 23 years fewer.

It doesn't matter if a person becomes first physically dependent, as with "level-of-alcohol" drinkers, or psychologically dependent, as with the socalled conflict drinkers. Many managers and executives are almost predestined to fall into the latter category: the marketing chief drinks because he has to work at high revs and under pressure to deliver on time; the conscientious bank manager worries about bad debts; the talented man is frustrated because his career chances are being damaged by internal intrigue; and some executives invest their entire energy in the job so that the slightest domestic problem becomes too much to handle. Relax, forget, recover — drink.

Professor Gottschaldt says that the emotional pressures that lead to alcoholism are often rooted in a "misrelationship" between performance demands and performance capability. "The problem lies not so much with the environment of the manager as with his own fundamental psychological composition. Such people are unusual: they come into their careers with extremely high ambitions and expectations; some even have an almost addictive relationship to their work."

Their frustration is programmed. Harald Buhmann is a reformed alcoholic who is now an addiction adviser with HEW, the company that supplies Hamburg with electricity. He says: "First I had to learn that I didn't always need to be the best; that weaknesses can be admitted to; and that it is not necessary to exploit oneself ruthlessly."

Frau von Rotenhan, of Siemens, observes: "Many of these alcoholics are brought up to be little wonders. The parents place all their ambition and hopes in them and the pressure remains with them all their lives. This pressure takes them a long way but never brings satisfaction." They are often spoiled as children and "never learned to develop a thicker skin as a defence against life's barbs."

So it is that many on the executive floor take alcohol and medicines not only to make themselves feel better but also to improve performance. Nose-sprays against allergic sneezing to keep the head free; cough syrups with codein, laxatives with opiates, headache tablets and tranquillisers all steady the nerves; and a glass of *Sekt* (a cheap sparkling white wine) in the morning to celebrate the birthday of a long-serving staff member gives the spirits a great boost.

Frau Rotenhan: "Society rates top performers highly. How they get there doesn't matter much for most people. But it can endanger the lives of some people with certain dispositions."

Paul Müller (not his real name) is 67. He only went to dry out after retiring. Only twice in 20 alcoholic years as head of a works with 350 employees ever spoken to by a board member about his drinking. It was said "that he certainly likes a drink." But nothing ever happened.

He says: "I did my job well. There was no reason to throw me out." But, with hindsight, he regrets his employers' generosity. He says alcohol cost him 10 ye[...] of his life. Even though he did manag[...] maintain appearances, he had vegeta[...] internally.

At first he drank only in the evenin[...] beer and schnaps — to recover from [...] at work. He was given a lot of respons[...] ity at a relatively young age and he [...] over-burdened. As with many alcoh[...] it took about 10 years to become depe[...] ent (on the other hand there are wa[...] on the diplomatic cocktail circuit [...] need only six weeks of constant part[...] become addicted).

By the time he was 53, Paul Müller [...] downing schnaps compulsively; whe[...] was 56, his wife left him; and soon [...] wards, he was taking a hip flask to [...] with him, although he kept it in his br[...] case because he didn't want his secreta[...] to notice.

He would leave the room to take a [...] draught of rum. Sober, he shook too [...] to sign anything.

At the beginning, he *did* have [...] when he didn't drink. Experts see [...] conscious attempt at self cure as [...] an attempt to develop a drinking s[...] ("whisky only after sundown") as being [...] pical indications of emerging alcoholi[...] The drinker knows underneath that he [...] she is endangered and develops a gu[...] conscience.

After his first glass, Müller wa[...] overcome by the irresistible urge i[...] ately to pour down a few more. He [...] use a strong mouthwash to camoufla[...] breath. Yet if he ever saw alcohol i[...] works, a case of beer for exampl[...] would order it to be removed with [...] monition: "There won't be any [...] here while I'm around."

When he developed a thirst during [...] day, he would think of a reason to go [...] the city. He drank more schnaps wi[...] lunch and was driven home by the [...] driver after works parties.

"In my position it was *easy to* [...] whenever I wanted to. It was terrib[...] couldn't have allowed an engineer o[...] master tradesman behave like I did." [...] day six months after he retired, he [...] lapsed, drunk at home.

Few drunkards go for treatment [...] their own initiative. The mere though[...] not being allowed to drink again ca[...] panic. A single day without alcohol i[...] ough to cause a bad case of the shakes.

Professor Gottschaldt: "Many [...] like to change their lifestyle but they [...] It is wrong to say this is because of [...] of awareness and self-discipline. Yo[...] compare an alcoholic with a jilted [...] Both know the situation but all the p[...] of their intellect is not enough to rid [...] of the emotional problem."

When a alcoholic manager is talked [...] about the problem, he is likely to rea[...] one of two ways: reject the charge [...] laughing it off; or by counter-attack ("[...] drink as well!"). But now clinics and [...] vice centres can help prepare [...] groundwork for such talks.

Herbert Ziegler is the head of a organ[...] sation specialising in addiction [...] says: "If you put an alcoholic under pr[...] sure, he might agree to therapy for [...] sake of appearances; the risk is high [...] he will backslide."

Therefore he tells seminars for [...] "An alcoholic can be treated only a[...] realises that the alcohol is stronger [...] he is and that he will lose if he tries [...] it on his own." But getting this [...] across to a self-confident manag[...] difficult and demanded patience.

A successful man whose achiev[...] are admired, who directs the [...] lives of hundreds of people and [...] makes decisions involving milli[...] marks is hardly going to admit light[...] he can't even control his own life[...]

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■ **ANNIVERSARIES**

A port braces itself for five million visitors

Five million visitors are expected to come to Hamburg to celebrate the port's 800th anniversary this year. Hamburg is Germany's largest port and one of the largest in the world. It has been an important trade centre since the Hanseatic League was formed in the 12th century. This article appeared in the *Frankfurter Rundschau.*

On 7 May 1189 the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick I, named Barbarossa or Red-beard, granted Hamburg customs exemptions. The port flourished and in 1241 the city entered an agreement with Lübeck from which the Hanseatic League emerged.

Hammaburg, on the junction of the Alster and the Elbe, had been a port since 811, when berths for ships first became available.

Strictly speaking it is Hamburg's Free Port which is celebrating a birthday, the large section of the port which, since 1189, has been a duty-free zone, where goods and merchandise can be warehoused, processed and re-exported without duty being paid.

European Commission attempts in 1987 to curtail these privileges were unsuccessful.

Today imports through the port include: every third coffee bean imported into Germany; half the tea imports; half the grain imports; every third apple in Germany; between 40 and 60 per cent of the raw materials for cooking oil and margarine; a third of all spices; and about 40 per cent of the raw tobacco.

Crude oil is again playing an important role. Exports are dominated by foodstuffs but machinery, precision engineering and high-technology products are coming to the fore.

Traders in Hamburg booked an import-export total of close to DM125bn last year, of which almost DM50bn were accounted for by imports, DM30bn exports, and it is estimated that about DM40bn were transit traffic.

Transit contracts involve, for example, grain which is supplied from the USA to the Soviet Union without the goods having to pass necessarily through Hamburg.

The port has always been versatile and has had good contacts with Scandinavia and Eastern Europe. These have been the trump cards the port has been able to play against the powerful competition put up by Antwerp (97 million tons of ocean-borne merchandise handled in a year) and Rotterdam (273 million tons).

Last year Hamburg handled approximately 60 million tons of cargo, twice as much as Bremen/Bremerhaven on the Weser.

Forty per cent of Hamburg's total cargo handled is general cargo: only a fifth of Rotterdam's total cargo is general cargo. Rotterdam, the world's largest port, is very much an oil port and there is not a lot to be earned from handling crude.

Hamburg port is very much a container port, and the container is the mode of the future. The port is number two in Europe, after Rotterdam, and tenth in the world league.

Last year container traffic showed a growth rate of 13 per cent and a further extension of container handling facilities is on the agenda.

The port's Eurokai Terminal alone will invest DM30m for new facilities in 1989.

The port is in very good form for its 800th anniversary. A total of DM47m will be paid out for the celebrations; DM16m will come from Hamburg's own funds raised from local taxes; DM10m will come from the federal government, admission charges and similar sources; and DM20m is expected from sponsors and donors.

This leaves a deficit of four million marks — but city officials are optimistic that the remaining money will be found.

The Bundesbahn, the railways, is laying on special trains at special prices, with some offers even including hotel accommodation (important because there will be an acute shortage of accommodation). Five million visitors are expected.

The five million compares with 1.6 million who turned up for the run-in celebration last year.

The first five days of the celebration will be the most hectic. The southern perimeter of the city will be a gigantic fairground with fireworks and a get-together of balloonists, port tugs which will perform a ballet, and the "Barbarossa Night" with floating stages on the Elbe and elsewhere.

More culture has been arranged for June with international ballet, with theatre and stars from all over the world.

On 2 June, children, 8,000 of them, will paint the largest pavement picture in the world, through the centre of the city to the port.

In August there will be a "Hanseatic Day" and "Hanseatic Village," and a mediaeval market on the square in front of the Town Hall.

A great attraction will undoubtedly be "Sail Hamburg 89" from 13 to 23 July. This is a get together of small and historical sailing vessels. A special guest will be towed up the Elbe into the port, the paddle steamer *Dresden* from East Germany.

If Hamburg is to kick up a shindy it will not keep quiet about what were possibly the greatest drinkers of their times, sea robbers of 13th, 14th and 15th centuries.

One of the most famous of them was Klaus Störtebeker, whom the people of Hamburg caught and he and 600 of his buddies were beheaded on 20 October 1401 in the Grasbrook section of the port.

From 1 June until 3 September the "Störtebeker Epic" will be staged on the Alster, the lake around which the city has grown up.

There will also be events to set people thinking. Action artist Axel Burgheim has thought up the "Phoenix from the Elbe" project, a 40-metre long, 12-metre high steel fish skeleton, which fisherman Heinz Oestmann, well known as a critic of the outrages and scandals concerning the environment, will haul hooked out of the river with his tug.

Burgheim said: "The waters in the port have been dead for ages. The Phoenix will remind us that a re-birth of the river is possible if everyone puts their back into it."

The project has been widely supported, by the Association for the Environment and Nature Preservation and the Association for the Protection of Birds.

Burgheim said: "If only DM20m were spent on the port's anniversary then DM27m would be left over for purification facilities."

He would like to tow the Phoenix to Dresden in September. It would cost all in all about DM100,000.

There has been much controversy about the economic affairs officials' invitation to the consul-general of South Africa for South Africa to take part in the "Boulevard of the Nations," national stands erected for the celebrations in the city centre.

The SPD have criticised the FDP-led economic affairs department, claiming that a South African national stand would be "a propaganda stage for a racist regime."

The economic affairs department officials have not withdrawn the invitation to South Africa, nevertheless. They gave as their reason: "We have invited every one of the 79 consulates operating in Hamburg to take part."

Another problem has been the shortage of hotel accommodation for the days of the anniversary. Almost all the hotels are booked out.

It is being said that the owners of small hotels and hostels will ask the homeless, asylum seekers and emigrés to leave for the duration of the celebrations so as to earn more from guests visiting the festivities.

Sonja Pape, spokeswoman for Hamburg's labour, youth and social affairs department, conceded that "several thousand people" in these needy groups were accommodated in cheap hotels.

She said: "We have taken note of the threat but we have not heard of any notices to quit accommodation. If it should come to that there is nothing we can do about it." A happy birthday — but not for everyone.

There are now only about a half the number of dockers and crane-operators who used to work in the port 20 years ago. Uwe Schröder of the public services trades union, ÖTV, said that this year there are only 8,200. Rationalisation and changes to the structure of the port have swallowed up port jobs, he said.

Although the volume of ocean-borne cargo has increased considerably it has not achieved its 1980 level of 63 million tons.

Fresh efforts will have to be made to enable the port to meet the competition which will occur after the formation of the single European market in 1993.

The city government plans to extend the port area by 575 acres, the economic affairs department would like to settle car assembly and foodstuffs companies, firms specialising in re-cycling, restaurants and motels in the port area.

On the location where once the Stülcken shipyard stood a warehousing centre is to be established, including offices, administration and production plant — the finances are already available.

There is also discussion about "Teleport," a link of the port computerised information system "Dakosy" with about 100 cargo-handling ports all ove the world.

Teleports — there are already about a dozen of these ports in the USA, Japan and France — speed up the international exchange of port information.

Hamburg is also busy within the Bundesrat, the Upper House. Hamburg's Senate has approved draft legislation dealing with port-hinterland traffic. Existing tariffs put North German ports at a disadvantage compared with the ports at the estuary of the Rhine.

Economic affairs senators and ministers of the coastal states agreed in March that a preferential tariff must be introduced, for they are all affected by the competition offered by the Dutch and Belgian ports.

Hamburg is rolling up its sleeves to ensure it has a good share of the shipping cake. Costs and services are vital for this.

The birthday party will be colossal, but if it is not effective advertising for the city and the port, then it is not worth it.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 26 April 1989)

Everybody's going down to the pier.

(Photo: dpa)

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says that only people who he is himself dependent on can make him see. That means wife, children, close friends and more senior executives.

Then a clinic must be chosen. Methods vary. All methods don't suit everybody. Successful people who are used to calling the tune and solving problems are not likely to find it easy baring their soul to an unknown therapist.

Professor Gottschaldt knows from experience that clinics can make big mistakes. He began drinking out of frustration with his career.

At one stage he was drinking one and a half bottles of cognac a day. When he did decide to accept treatment, he was expected to take group therapy with criminals and auxiliary workers. It is little wonder that he relapsed several times before being cured. The result is that he decided to found a psychosomatic clinic mainly to treat alcoholics. His patients are sent back to their office desks after six weeks intensive treatment; many other clinics insist on several months. Despite the variations in approach, all clinics agree on one thing: when a patient wants to be cured and when post-clinic treatment is good, the relapse rate after specific therapy is not much more than 30 per cent.

All alcoholics we spoke to spent many years attending after-care groups. Those not wanting to attend in their own area can go elsewhere, to Alcoholics Anonymous meetings for example. Travelling overseas is no excuse for missing a meeting: you can now go to AA meeting in places as far afield as Mexico City and Moscow.

Irene Mayer-List

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 14 April 1989)